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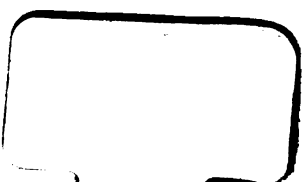

CO
(Ipswich)
Wodderspo

Here lieth buried Thomas Polwnder

Marchaunte and Jane his wyfe whiche deceased the xxvi day of Octobr

And Emme Polwnder his wyfe whiche deceased the xxvi day of

Drawn & Etched by W.H. Hagreen

914.264
W83

Memorials

OF THE

ANCIENT TOWN OF IPSWICH,

In the County of Suffolk,

BY JOHN WODDERSPOON.

"THESE BEE YR ARMES BELONGING AUNTIENTLYE TO YE TOWNE OF AND BOROUGH OF IPSWICH, AND YE BAYLYFFS AND BURGESSES AND COMMONALLITIE OF YE SAME, AND AT THIS PRESENT VISITATION WERRE BAYLYFFS OF YE SAME TOWNE, JOHN GARDINER AND GEFFREY GILBERT."
Harvey's Visitation, 1561.

Ipswich:
PAWSEY, OLD BUTTER MARKET.

London:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS; AND
J. R. SMITH, OLD COMPTON STREET.

1850.

SUPPLIED FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE

THE NEW YORK
ASTOR LENOX
1 13 71

TO THE

MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND BURGESSES

OF IPSWICH,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED

BY THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT,

JOHN WODDERSPOON.

Preface.

The following pages must be regarded in the light of a fragment. A complete History of the Town of Ipswich was at first designed, but found to involve a larger amount of pecuniary outlay than would probably have been returned. The first idea was therefore abandoned and the volume took the form and title it now bears.

It has been the object of the author to confine his authorities as far as possible to those hitherto unknown, partially explored, or not easily accessible. Published matter has been avoided except where reference to any printed work was required for the elucidation of original documents.

Through the kindness of the Corporation of Ipswich, a large portion of the Town Records have been examined. Those which chiefly occupied the attention of the author were the books of Accounts of the ancient Chamberlains—the Great Domesday Book of Ipswich, a thick vellum volume re-compiled in 1521 by Richard Percyvale—such of the Great Court Books as remain in the custody of the Corporation—and the folio manuscript gathered from the then existing muniments by Nicholas Bacon, Recorder of Ipswich, and one of its Representatives in the Long Parliament. Other authorities comprize MSS. in the British Museum—MSS. connected with the College of Cardinal Wolsey, among the Chapter House Papers and those at the Rolls' Office — MSS. in the Augmentation Office, and the various Churchwardens Books

and Parochial Registers belonging to the Churches of the town.

Such are the principal public sources from which information has been derived. The author is bound however, both by friendship and gratitude, to acknowledge the assistance received from the large local collection of Mr. W. S. Fitch, a gentleman to whom the possession of an unequalled body of documentary evidence connected with Suffolk, illustrated by many volumes of drawings and engravings, has not been —

"As is a landscape to a blind man's eye;"

but one of use, instruction, and pleasure—while feeling the value of his own antiquarian stores and indefatigable personal exertions in throwing light upon the History of his native county, he has at all times been liberal in imparting his accumulated knowledge to those capable of appreciating its value.

"Munos Appoline Dignum."

My best thanks are also due to Mr. S. A. Notcutt, and Mr. J. E. Sparrowe, for their courtesy and kindness with reference to the examination of the Town Records, during the period when these gentlemen severally filled the office of Town Clerk.

I am also bound to acknowledge the attention shewn me by D. E. Davy, Esq. of Ufford, another Suffolk collector, for replies to enquiries,—and also to Sir F. Palgrave at the Rolls' Office, and the Rev. Joseph Hunter, at the Augmentation Office, for liberally advancing my researches in the vast depositories of the National Records committed to their care.

JOHN WODDERSPOON.

September, 1850.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

THE list of early coins known to be minted at Ipswich, was, by an accident over which the author could exercise no control, unfortunately rendered imperfect at page 49, and discovered too late for remedy. Under this circumstance, by the permission of Mr. William Stevenson Fitch, a synopsis of a paper compiled by that gentleman is now given on the subject of the Ipswich Mints—as also a list of Ipswich Tokens taken from the volume on provincial coins published by the late Mr. James Conder, also of Ipswich—a gentleman whose research in this much-slighted but useful, curious, and interesting branch of study, has rendered his name an authority of the highest value among collectors.

After the death of Edwy, Edgar surnamed the Peaceable, occupied the throne. On his coins he styled himself "Rex Anglorum," also "Rex totius Britanniæ," and was the first monarch who between 959, (the date of his accession) and 975, (that of his death), struck Pennies at Ipswich. The name of the town on the reverse was abbreviated GEP, from the Anglo-Saxon appellation of Gypeswic, which in Domesday Book is designated "Gepeswiz."

In 975, Edward II, better known by the title of Edward the Martyr, at the early age of fifteen, succeeded to the throne. His style when at length is "Rex Anglorum;" and on the reverse of his coins struck at Ipswich is the abbreviation—GIPE.

The atrocious assassination of this sovereign in 978, by the instigation of his mother-in-law Elfrida, made way for her son

Ethelred. Ruding, who refers to the Saxon Chronicle, records that in the third year of Ethelred II, the town of Ipswich was ravaged by the Danes, and in 993, his fifth year, they quite destroyed it; so that his coin, which was struck here was probably coined very early in his reign.

The dates in this passage are manifestly wrong, but there are Pennies struck during this reign at Ipswich having the denotation thus expressed—

GIP, GIPE, GIPES or GYPES.

Æthelred Rex Ang — Sipold on Gipeswic.
Æthelred Rex Anglorum — Valtfirth mo. Gip.
Gipe.
Gipes.
Gypes.
Gipis.

Upon the death of Edmund, Canute was acknowledged king of England. The coins of this monarch were struck at Ipswich as at other places. The moneyers known are the following:—

Aelwine on Gipis
Aelwine on Gipeswi.
Alfwald on Gi.
Ethelberght on Gip.
Godric on Gip.
Godwine on Gipes.
Leofric on Gipesw.
Leofwine on Gip.
Lefinc on Gipeswi.
Swein on Gip.
Thvrstan on Gi.

On the death of Canute, Harold succeeded him as king of England, and but little is known respecting his mints beyond what can be collected from his coins.

Ruding has not placed Ipswich in his list of towns, but among the hoard discovered at Wickham Skeith, were three pennies struck here, having on their reverses—

Godric on Gip.
Lifinc on Gip.
Widgara on Gip.

Of the coins of Hardicanute, none are known of this mint.

Ipswich is expressed on several of the Confessor's coins thus:—

Aldgar on Gipe
Brunic on Gip.
Elf on Gip.
Leofri on Gip.
Leofwine on Gip.
Riesi on Gip.
Wuline on Gip.
Leofsi on Gi.
Swein on Gipes.
Ulf on Gipesi.
Godric on Gip.

The death of Edward the Confessor, January 5, 1066, created competitors for the crown, in the persons of his cousin William of Normandy, and his brother-in-law Harold. The latter being immediately on the spot, assumed the sovereignty from the declaration made in his favour by the enfeebled and expiring monarch, and although his reign extended to but a few days beyond nine months, the issues from his Mints were frequent, and are now not uncommon. Ruding notices those struck at Ipswich having on the reverse—GIPN.

Among the Pennies of William the Norman discovered at Beaworth, in Hampshire, were the following moneyers:—

Aeglwine on Gip.	Lfwine on Gipswi.
Aelfric on Gipswi.	Lifwine on Gipsw.
Alfwine on Gips.	Swegen on Gipisw.
Alfwine on Gipsw.	Swegen on Gips.
Alfwine on Gepsn.	Swegn on Gipswi.
Lfstan on Gipsw.	Wulfwine on Gip.

On these legends the dipthong Æ is expressed by I E, and in the names of Lfstan and Lfwine, these can scarcely be considered as varieties, the moneyers having formed the I and F as one letter. The Saxon characters observable in these legends are here supplied by Roman letters.

On the death of William I, in 1087, his son William Rufus succeeded, and appears to have been most profligate in dispersing the treasure left by his father. He seems to have coined but a small amount and to have employed but few of his father's moneyers. Of some of the mints employed by his predecessor, no coins are known as having been struck by this monarch, but "GIPI" appears on the Pennies of this king thus—

Vulpene on Gipi.

Gipe. appears on a penny of Henry I, and the moneyer is thus mentioned.

Robert on Gipe.

Stephen's usurpation continued to his demise in October, 1154 when Henry II, the son of the Empress Maud, was declared King, and the renovation of the monetary standard was attempted.

Ipswich was one of the royal Mints at this period, and the following were the moneyers—Nicolas, Robert and Turstain, all whom known to the writer, are—

Nicol on Gipw.	Rodberd on Gip.
Nicole on Gipes	Rodberd on Gipe.
Robert on Gip.	Tvrstain on Gi.
Robert on Gipe.	Tvrstain on Gip.
Rodberd on Gi.	

Possibly no general coinage was effected from the poverty of "John sans terre," who by his frequent peregrinations appears to have rested at no place long.

John died October 19, 1216, and was succeeded by his son Henry III.

In 1220 dies for making round half-pennies and farthings were delivered. Whether farthings were coined is doubtful, and of the half-pennies weighing ten grains, one only is traceable by the writer. The delivery of the coining irons or dies to the officials of the provincial mints, doubtless followed soon after, and of the short cross type, there are numerous specimens extant of the Ipswich Mint. Three names appear on them, Alexander, Andrew and John.—

Alisan on G.	Andr on Gip.
Alisand on G.	Johan on Gipe.
Alisandre on G.	Johan on Gipes.
Alisandre on Gi.	

Alexander de Dorset, had the appointment as Warden of the London Mint conferred on him before October 18th, 1224, 8th Henry III. Quere—was this the Ipswich moneyer advanced to this honor?

It is asserted by Mr. Hawkins, and stoutly maintained by others, that the short-cross pennies ascribed to Henry III, are in reality the coin of Henry II: and if this were supported by facts, Ipswich would be deprived of the honor of a mint during the third Henry's reign, as of the long-cross type, which distinguishes the second general re-coinage in 1247, none having Ipswich on the reverse are known. It would seem then that Ipswich ceased to be a place of mintage having the royal authority early in the reign of Henry III.

However for the honor of the town be it known, that by the Claus. Rot. An 29 Edward III. m.b. dorso. it is recorded —An indenture of Coinage was directed to William Porter of Ipswich, Master and Worker in the Tower of London and elsewhere, to make in gold three manner of monies—Noble,

Half Noble, and Quarter Noble; and in Silver four manner of monies—The Groat, Half-Groat, (Penny here called the Sterling and Mail) (i e. half-penny) dated at Westminster May 2, 1355. This record appears unknown to Ruding, the Rev. C. E. Brice, and Mr. Akerman.

TOKENS OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

IOHN . ALLEN . OF IPSWICH 57 . + 3 Cloves . I. A. 1657.
ANTHONY . APPLEWHIT—Haberdashers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH 1664—A.A.
AT . THE . ANGEL—An Agel + IN . IPSWICH 1656—W. T.
RICHARD . BEAUMOND—Apothecaries' Arms + IPSWICH . APOTHECARY—R. B.
IOHN . BORRET—The Grocers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH 1655—I. A. B.
IOHN . BRENN—The Princes' Plume + IN IPSWICH 1659—I. B. M.
IOHN . BORROVGH—The Grocers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH—I. B.
THOMAS . BORROVGH—The Grocers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH—T. B. A.
WILL . CANNE . BUTCHER—A Hatchet + IN . IPSWICH 1668—W. C. M.
IOSEPH . COLMAN—The Grocers' Arms + OF . IPSWICH—I. C. D.
NICHOLAS . COOKE—A Pump + OF . IPSWICH 1656—N. C. I.
IOHN . CVTTRIS—(octagonal) The Grocers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH 1669—HIS . HALFPENY.
LIBBEVS . DIMPLEBY—The King's Head + IN . IPSWICH 1666—L. D. A.
WILLIAM . DOGGETT 1668—(square) The Grocers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH . GROCER . HIS . HALFPENNY.
SAMUEL . DOUER . APOTHECARY—(heart-shaped) + IN . IPSWICH . HIS HALFE . PENNY.
CHARLES . FAREWEATHER—A Ship + IN . IPSWICH 1656—C. F.
GEORGE . GIRLING—The Grocers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH 1666—G. G. M.
IOSEPH . HAYNES—The Grocers' Arms + OF . IPSWICH 1656 . HIS . HALF PENNY.
IAMES . HARWELL—The Grocers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH 1659—J. H. M.
ABIGAL . HULLEN—A Pot with Flowers + OF . IPSWICH—A. H.
IOHN . MVRDOCKE—Three Martlets + IPSWICH . GROCER 1651—S. S. A.
EDWD. . PAYNE—A Pair of Scales + IN . IPSWICH 1657—E. P.
ROBERT . REDNALL—The Haberdashers' Arms + IN . IPSWICH 1663—R.R.
IOHN . SPARROW 1659—Stars + IN . IPSWICH . DRAPER—J. S.
ROBERT . SPARROW—Three Sparrows + IN . IPSWICH 1654—R. S.
IAMES . STORY—IN the Grocers' Arms + IPSWICH . GROCER—I. S.
SAMUEL . STANNARD—OF THE Grocers' Arms + IPSWICH . GROCER—1651. S. S. A.
ELIZABETH . THOMPSON—E. T. + IN . IPSWICH 1656.
ROBERT . TVRNER—The Apothecaries' Arms + OF . IPSWICH—R. T.
ROBERT . TVRNER—The Apothecaries' Arms + OF . IPSWICH 1655—R.T.
—— WYE . IN . IPSWICH + Apothecary 1663—Arms of Ipswich.
An Ipswich Farthing, 1670.

TOKENS OF THE 18TH CENTURY—PENNY SIZE.

No. 1. O. A Head in profile, "Cardinal Wolsey born at Ips^{h}. 1471." A small Cypher *J. M.* under the Head.
R. View of an ancient Gate-way. Ex. "Wol^{r}. Gate." "Ja. Conder, Ipswich, 1795."

No. 2 O. A different Head in profile, "Cardinal Wolsey, born at Ipswich, 1471." A small Cypher *M.* under the Head.
R. The same as last.

No. 4. O. The same as last.
R. "Payable at Conder's Drapery Warehouse, Ipswich, 1796"
E. "I promise to pay on Demand the Bearer, One Penny."

No. 5, O. North View of an Ancient Building, "Town Hall, Ips^{h}." Ex. "Formerly St. Mildred's Church."
R. A Cypher *J. M. C.* "Conder's Ipswich Penny, 1797."
E. The same as last.

No. 6. O. The same as No. 2.
R. The same as last.

O. The same as Reverse of No. 1.
R. The same as last.

HALF-PENNY SIZE.

No. 1. O. Arms, Supporters, and Crest of the Town of Ipswich, as a Motto on the Label underneath, "King, Lords, & Commons"
R. A Man ploughing, and a Ship sailing at a distance, between Sprigs of Laurels. "God preserve the Plough and Sail."
E. "Payable at Robert Manning's, Ipswich."

No. 2. O. An ancient Market Cross, "Ipswich Cross." Ex. "1794."
R. "Payable at Conder's Drapery Warehouse, Ipswich."
E. Milled.

No. 3. O. A Head in profile, "Cardinal Wolsey, born at Ipswich, 1471." A small Cypher *M.* under the Head.
R. "Payable at Conder's Drapery Warehouse, Ipswich, 1796."
E. Milled.

In the list of places of worship, given at page 10, in this volume, the Quakers' Meeting-house is omitted. The present building was erected in 1796, though this rich and influential sect of Christians had been long previously settled in the town and experienced the common persecution of the times. Only one document connected with the ill treatment of Quakers in Ipswich has fallen under the notice of the author.

To ye Towne Clerk
off Ipswich these
deliver with care
ffriend, and sped.

I am informed yt ye 5 townesmen called Quakers yt are prisoners (viz.) William Broune, Edward Milksopp, Thomas Milksopp, James Tomson, and John Tomson, as to their liberty its wholly left to Thee as I am informed some of ye Rulers of this towne have sayd; therefore it is upon me at this time to writ unto thee to sett them at liberty; for I know its not well pleasing to God, nor the way to stop ye increase of the plague to keep men in prison for their conscience sake. I shall acquaint thee with some good pressidents of tender heartedness in some, in severall pts in this kingdom as I am creedably informed; (viz.) at Alsbury in Buckingham Shier, upon the plauge beeing there some Justices ordered yt those of our friends called Quakers who were in prison there (those of them yt it did not belonge to them then fully to discharge) they ordered to be set out of prison and have liberty to goe to there owne houses seaverally untill further order. Also at Yorke ye Bishop with other Justices ordered and set out of prison lately sevverall of our friends who went home into ye cuntery untill further order: upon ye account of some Dieing there of a fever which was not judged to be ye plague; allso at London our friends yt are prisoners have much liberty to goe abroad now.

In love and tenderness I writ these things to thee because I know with acts of marcy God is well pleased; and hardness of heart is ye greatest plauge and brings ye greatest plauges upon people: Soe I desier thee seriously to waigh and consider my friends case above sayd and set them at liberty that they may provid for them selves; and that they may not be exposed to those hasards yt they are exposed to by their being prisoners heere espetially at this time; and then have I cleared my conscience in this matter.

And remaine a true friend to all and really desire
thy eternall good,
Ro. Duncon.

Ipswich Towne Goale
ye 1st month 30 day, 1666.

ERRATA.

Page 13. In 15th line for *lower* read *upper*.

Page 62. The population of Ipswich in 1841 should be stated as 25,254, and not 24,423—the difference being made up by 107 persons residing in extra-parochial places, and 724 in public institutions, including the Barracks.

Page 199. The paragraph commencing this page should read before the last paragraph in page 198, commencing "The reign."

Page 215. In 17th line for *Elderado*, read *Eldorado*.

Page 257. In 15th line dele *also*.

Page 300. In 5th line for *monastry* read *monastery*.

Page 301. In 18th line for *medietus* read *medieties*—for *portion* read *portions*—19th line for *Elm* read *Elms*—20th line for *Bently* read *Bentley*.

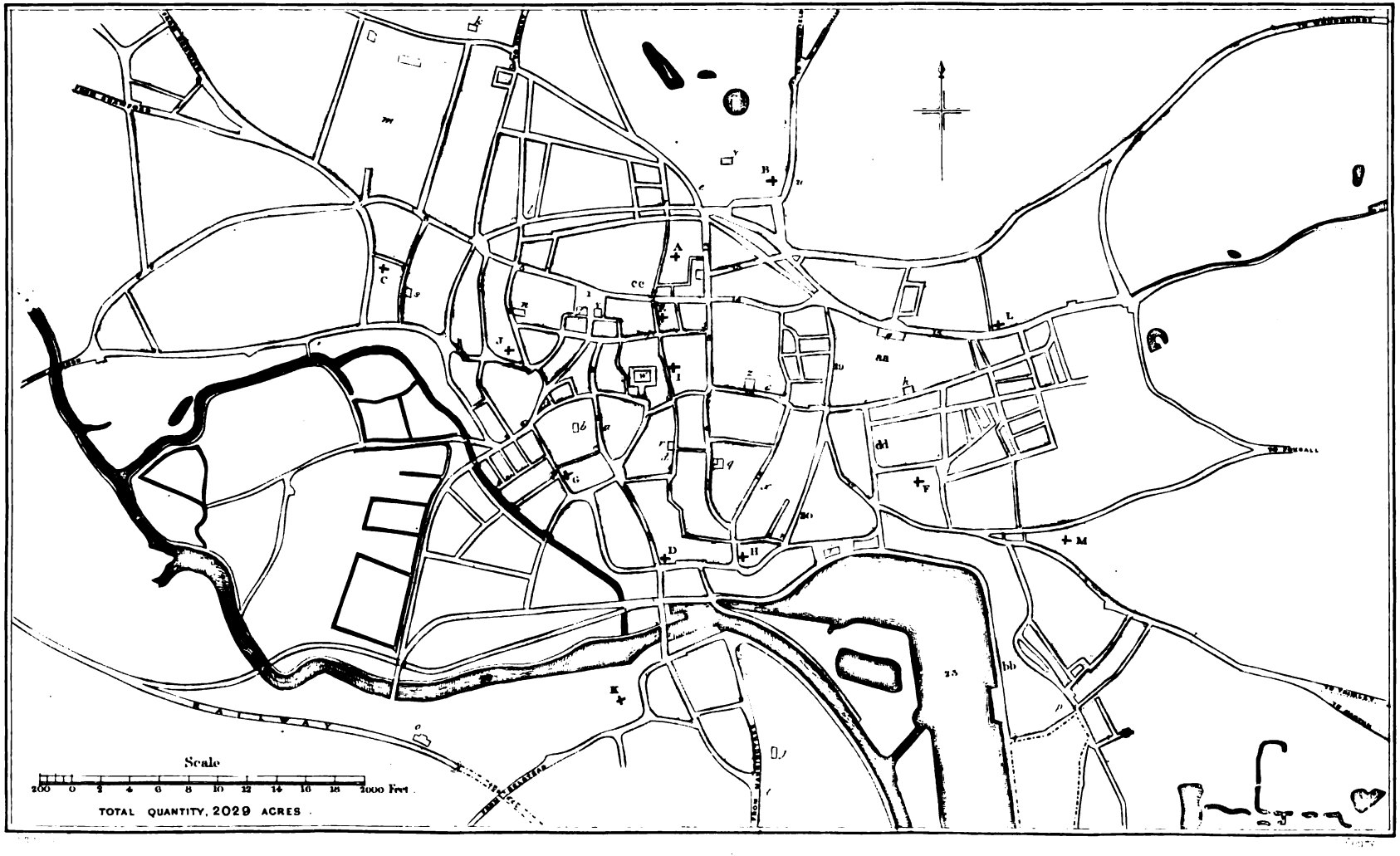
Page 330. In 17th line read *fallen* for *fell*.

Page 347. In 20th line for 1600, read 1599.

Page 365. In 6th line for *foregoing* read *following*.

The careful reader will also, no doubt, discover other errors for which his indulgence is requested.

IPSWICH, 1850.



Memorials of Ipswich.

INTRODUCTORY. DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN, AND NOTICES OF EXISTING ANTIQUITIES.

IPSWICH and the ancient liberties thereof are situated in the Eastern Division of the county of Suffolk. The hundreds of Bosmere and Claydon lie on the north, Carlford on the east, Colneis on the south-east, Samford on the south, and Samford, Bosmere, and Claydon on the west. The superficial extent of these liberties is 8450 acres—in length from Westerfield Wood to King John's Ness 5M. 1F. 30R., breadth from Spright's Lane on the west to the second mile-stone on Rushmere Heath on the east 4M. 2F. 8R. The entire circuit is 19 miles.

The town is situated at the confluence of the rivers Orwell and Gipping. The former is a noble estuary, running inland from the German ocean, from which, at Ipswich, it is distant about twelve miles. The latter is a fresh-water stream, having its rise in the villages of Gipping, Rattlesden, and Wetherden, which by the perseverance and enterprise of a company

of projectors has been rendered navigable for barges from the port of Ipswich to the flourishing town of Stowmarket.

Ipswich stands upon an acclivity rising gently from both rivers to the north, stretching also east and west. It is irregularly built. Many streets are winding in the extreme. Much of the town having been erected between the 15th and 16th centuries—experiencing few vicissitudes, and unassailed by important disturbing causes, a larger number of ancient timber and pargetted houses remain than perhaps in any town of similar magnitude in the kingdom. These are of superior character, and indeed are noticed as such by old Fuller, in his "Worthies," when speaking of the place.*

These ancient domestic memorials are principally situated in St. Clement's parish, and follow the line of the present Wet Dock, formerly part of the original stream of the Orwell. One or two exceptions to this rule exist—the most important being the house known as "Mr. Sparrowe's house," in the Butter Market, erected in 1567. This mansion however is not strictly a timber house, but a unique specimen of "pargetting" or plastering, having in large compartments upon its front and western gable, symbolical representations of the quarters of the globe, and the growth of the fleece. This fine building derives its title from the circumstance that it has remained in the possession of a family closely connected with the town, named Sparrowe, nearly from the date of its erection. The family of Sparrowe has been of considerable eminence in the town, and several of its members have enjoyed the highest municipal honours.

* "As for merchants houses, Ipswich town (co-rival with some cities for neatness and greatness) affordeth many of equal handsomeness." That is with "fair houses" of the gentry.

The town of Ipswich contains thirteen churches—twelve ancient and one, Trinity, erected in the year 1836, and endowed by the munificence of the Rev. J. T. Nottidge. They are situated in twelve distinct parishes—St. Mary Tower, St. Matthew, St. Mary at the Elms, St. Nicholas, St. Peter, St. Stephen, St. Mary at the Quay, St. Clement, St. Helen, St. Margaret, St. Lawrence, and St. Mary Stoke, in the hamlet of that name. These ecclesiastical structures are for the most part erected in the perpendicular style of architecture. Portions of some however are of earlier date. The south door of St. Mary at the Elms, for instance, is in the Norman style, but slightly enriched, and therefore probably of the elder or primary Norman —and the west end of St. Nicholas church bears early grotesque carving, probably belonging to the ancient church of St. Michael, believed to have existed on the spot.

The public buildings of the town are not numerous, nor are those that exist of considerable magnitude or beauty. They consist of the usual municipal establishments, of a Town or Guild Hall, County or Shire Hall, Custom House, Borough and County Gaols, Markets, Assembly Rooms, and Hospital. In accommodation, the requirements of modern times have rendered them adequate to the purposes for which they are used, and although, with perhaps the single exception of the Custom House and County Courts, they are deficient in architectural excellencies, all of them are at least sufficiently commodious for the purposes for which they are designed and used.

The Town Hall stands in a wide area, called the Corn Hill, from the circumstance of the wheat market having been held there weekly since the town first possessed the staple of wheat in the reign of Elizabeth. Most probably indeed a grain market has been held

on the spot from a far earlier period. This building stands upon the site of St. Mildred's church, many centuries disused. Here also stood an ancient Hall of Pleas; and a "sociary," or feasting room of the Corpus Christi Guilds, was erected here in the 9th Henry VIII. The present building, though commonly called the Town Hall, should evidently from this latter circumstance be denominated the Guild Hall.

The ground floor of the modern building contains the Sessions' court, erected in 1839. Previously to that time, the lower portion was inconvenient, and very primitive in its arrangements. The upper story contains a noble Council Chamber, and in front are the apartments of the Literary Institution, held of the corporation by payment of an annual rental of twenty shillings. The lower floor is appropriated to the use of the police.

During the reparations and additions made to this building in 1812, when the present Ionic front was erected, the foundations and interior walls disclosed several arches of an early English character. These, for the most part, were destroyed or removed. A blank arch of early style still remains however, uninjured, in the basement, undoubtedly proving the antiquity of this portion of the structure.

The building ranking next in municipal importance, and connected with the commerce of the town, is the Custom House. The present building, situated on the Quay, was erected in 1844, by the corporation. It stands near the site of an ancient brick and timber structure, which had survived many centuries, and most probably was used as the "Town-house," at a very early period. Many modifications of both exterior and interior had been made, and at the period of its removal, it had become considerably dilapidated. The principal apartments were arranged in a project-

ing story. A walk underneath, supported by pillars, the spandrils between each displaying good carving, was called "Mariner's Walk." Sir James Thornhill, the painter, visiting this town in the last century, gives in his diary a drawing of this old building, from which it can be seen that in his time the front was ornamented with pendant groups of flowers and fruit.*

The architectural characteristics of the new building, of which Mr. J. M. Clark was architect, are as follow:—"The main feature consists of a central portico, approached by a double flight of steps on either side, and standing on a semi-circular coved arch, of bold and imposing appearance. The arms of the corporation appear in the pediment of the portico. The central compartment, under the portico, is the Hall of Commerce, intended as a subscription room for merchants, captains, and others, connected with the commerce of the port. The room is of good proportions, decorated with columns and pilasters, the ceiling finished with a cove, springing from the entablature of the order, and groined with the arches of the windows and the detached columns opposite. To the west, on the principal floor, are the offices appropriated to the Customs' Department; including a "long room," with private offices for Collector and Comptroller, and rooms for stores, samples, &c. At the eastern end is a similar arrangement for the offices of Excise, each apartment being approached by a separate staircase from the arcades, which also form a feature in the design, and are intended as a substitute for the Mariners' Walk in the old building. The basement throughout is appropriated to bonding stores,

* In this manuscript diary are drawings of several ancient buildings in the town—the Cross, formerly standing on the Corn Hill — Almshouses, and other places. The descriptions are lively, yet minute.

and over the whole of the building are extensive corn chambers. There is also a mezzanine, or intermediate story, a portion of which is occupied by the Dock and River offices, the remainder by individual tenants. The style may be called an adaptation of the Italian. The tower is an addition in unison with the style: it gives effect to the general grouping of the mass, and serves also a purpose of utility—having a staircase within it to the lofts, and the summit being prepared for a clock. The contract for the whole of the works was completed at £4,250. The length of the building from east to west is 125 feet, and the depth from north to south 44 feet, exclusive of the portico and staircase. The height to the cornice above 45 feet, and the tower 70 feet."

In front of the Custom House spreads a Wet Dock of extensive superfices, containing a space of 33 acres, considered the largest area in England, occupied for such a purpose. The first stone of the Dock was laid on the 13th of August, 1838—the first stone of the Lock connecting its waters with those of the river Orwell, was deposited with great ceremony on the 26th of June, 1839. This stone bears the following inscription:—

IPSWICH DOCK.
The first stone of this Lock was laid on the 26th day of June, A.D 1839,
BY GEORGE GREEN SAMPSON, Esq. MAYOR.
Dykes Alexander, Esq. *Treasurer of the Commissioners.*
Peter Bartholomew Long, Esq. *Clerk.*
Engineer of the Works—Henry Robinson Palmer, Esq. F.R.S.
Vice-President of the Institute of Civil Engineers.
Contractor for the Works — David Thornbory, Esq.
NOSTROS IN COMMODA PUBLICA
CONATUS, TU DOMINE SECUNDA.

The length of the lock-chamber, between the gates, is 140 feet; its width 45 feet. The number of bricks required to construct the lock alone exceeded two millions, and 600 tons of stone were used. The en-

tire weight of the whole materials of which the lock is composed, is about twelve thousand tons.

The construction of the Dock occupied a space of more than two years, and was first opened for shipping in November, 1841, in the presence of the Mayor, (J. C. Cobbold, Esq.) the Engineer, and other gentlemen interested in the event.

Previously to the construction of the Ipswich Wet Dock, the Quay was a nuisance and disgrace to the town. The channel of the river completely dry at low water, exhibited during the ebb of the tide nothing but a wide and disgusting expanse of mud. The creation of the Wet Dock has therefore not only improved the port, but the locality in which it is situated, and the modern Quay is distinguished from its predecessor by cleanliness and good prospect, while the health of the district in which it is situated is decidedly improved.

In the parish of St. Helen stands the County Courts, for holding the assizes and sessions. It is a modern building, built in the year 1836-7, and opened for the use of the county in 1839. The centre next the street is castellated. In the wings are the Crown and Nisi-Prius Courts, with retiring rooms for the judges, magistrates' rooms, robing rooms for counsel, and apartments for the use of the clerk of the peace. The dimensions of the Crown Court are 45 feet long and 30 wide; the Nisi-Prius Court is nearly of the same size and of good height. Both are lighted by lanterns.

This building was erected by contract by Mr. Lake, of Ipswich, for £6149. The architect was Mr. Brook, Adelphi, London.

In the rear of the County Courts is the County Gaol for the eastern division of the county, erected upon an improved design in 1786, upon the site of an

ancient burial ground, and is one of the earliest constructed upon the benevolent views of the celebrated Howard.

Previously to the erection of the County Courts, the assizes from the year 1715, with a few exceptions, had been held at Bury St. Edmund's. By the indefatigable efforts of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, M.P. (then Fitzroy Kelly, Esq.) and Rigby Wason, Esq. the representatives of the borough, the inconvenience resulting to the county by the continued holding of the assizes at Bury St. Edmund's, the extreme western side of Suffolk, was acknowledged by the proper authorities, and the summer assize ordered to be held in Ipswich.

The county sessions, previously to the erection of the New Courts, were held in an ancient building standing on a piece of land in Foundation-street, called the Shire-hall Yard, and which had anciently belonged to the Friars Preachers. This last hall of justice was erected at the expense of the town and of Sir Samuel Barnadiston, one of its representatives from 1697 to 1700. It was dismantled and removed in October, 1841, being at that period in a very delapidated condition, and unsafe for the transaction of public business.

The sessions held in Ipswich are for the hundreds of Hartismere, Bosmere and Claydon, Samford, and Stow.

The alternate holding of the assize at Bury and Ipswich was not accomplished without experiencing much difficulty. The first step was taken in 1809, by the inhabitants of the town, and many of the county freeholders, who adopted measures to petition Parliament on the subject, and extensive communications were opened with the most influential persons in the district, to procure a favourable result to the application, by ascertaining who among the noblemen and

representatives of Suffolk felt disposed to support the change. These applications meeting with success, a petition embodying the grounds on which the alteration was considered desirable, was presented to the House of Commons, on the 8th of February, 1810, by R. A. Cricket, Esq. then one of the members for the borough. On this, leave was given to bring in a measure to legalize the change. A bill was shortly after introduced into the House, but from the powerful opposition brought to bear upon it by the members for Bury St. Edmund's, and the conjoined interests of the Grafton and Bristol families, it was thrown out on the third reading.

The change though defeated for a time, appears never to have been regarded as hopeless by those who originated the movement. Active proceedings however continued in abeyance until the year 1832, when Fitzroy Kelly, and Rigby Wason, Esqrs. again publicly raised the question of its eligibility. Notice was in that year given by the latter gentleman of his intention to introduce a bill for the purpose, and communications were opened with the authorities of the town to forward the necessary proceedings. A map was prepared by Mr. Wason, and widely circulated, in which the two districts of Bury St. Edmund's and Ipswich were compared in population and other respects, by which, upon an examination of numbers it appeared that the latter locality possessed a majority over the former of upwards of 88,000 inhabitants.

A second bill was accordingly prepared and brought before the Commons, but with a degree of fatality unfortunately attending the whole proceedings, was eventually dropped through the lateness of the session.

After other futile attempts, further private care was relieved by the introduction and passing of a

general measure conferring the power of removal of assize in any circuit of the kingdom, by order of Privy Council. The date of this act is August 28, 1833, and in 1835 it was notified to the then authorities that on a proper certificate being given, to the Home Department, of the convenience of the courts, gaols, &c. and that commodious lodgings were prepared for the Judges, the summer assizes would be held in future at Ipswich.

The New Courts were therefore erected, lodgings for the Judges constructed in the rear of the Assembly Rooms, and the first assize as before stated was held in 1839, before Mr. Justice Vaughan and Mr. Justice Bosanquet.

Among other public buildings in the town, is the East Suffolk Hospital, erected in 1836. It was built by Mr. Backhouse, after the design of Mr. Ribbans. It is capable of taking 40 patients, and is entirely supported by private donations and subscriptions. It owes its origin to the charitable design of A. W. Baird, Esq. M.D.

There are many dissenting places of worship in Ipswich.

Stoke Green chapel, (Baptists) erected 1774.

Old Gaol Lane chapel, (Methodists,) erected 1816.

Salem chapel, Globe Lane, (Independents,) erected 1812.

St. Nicholas chapel, (Independents,) erected 1829.

Original Presbyterian chapel, (Unitarian,) circa Charles I.

Dairy Lane chapel, (Baptists,) enlarged 1832. It was originally in Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.

Turret Green chapel, (Baptists, emanating from Stoke Green,) erected 1842.

Friar's Street chapel, (Wesleyan New Connexion,) erected 1836.

Rope Walk chapel (Primitive Methodists,) erected 1839.

Tacket Street chapel, (Independents,) erected 1720.

Nonconformity made its appearance at a very early period in the county of Suffolk, and also in the town of Ipswich. The Rev. Mr. Harmer a dissenting minister living at Wattisfield, who died Nov. 27, 1788, and who left a copious manuscript account of the establishment of most of the principal dissenting congregations in this county, dates the erection of the first chapel in this town to the days of Charles 1st, but is unable to name any minister officiating until 1662, the 14th of Charles II, "when Mr. Benjamin Stonehouse was pastor of a gathered church at Ipswich, and there silenced"* in that year.

The town also contains a Roman Catholic chapel, situate on the Woodbridge Road, and a Synagogue in the Rope Walk.

In the Rope Walk stands the Borough Gaol, formerly the County Bridewell, erected 1786.

A building called a Temperance Hall, stands in Temperance Street. Its uses are sufficiently indicated by its name. It was erected at the sole expense of R. D. Alexander, Esq.

In Northgate Street stands the New Assembly Rooms. At the rear of these premises are the Judges' lodgings, where their lordships reside during the holding of the summer assizes.

Upon the Corn Hill is the Corn Exchange, built in 1810, on the site of the Rotunda, erected in the latter end of the last century, by the late Mr. Gooding, architect.

A spacious and convenient Market for the sale of meat, poultry, and vegetables was erected in 1811, at

* Harmer MSS.

the joint expense of E. Bacon, Dykes Alexander, Wm. Barnard Clarke, Simon Jackaman, and William Batley, Esquires.

This last building closes the list of public structures connected with Ipswich. That they are not numerous and possess but few exterior marks of beauty has already been observed. From the rapid advance made by the town within the last ten years, no doubt can exist that, in process of time, Ipswich will exhibit as many fine buildings of a public character as other towns of much larger size and importance.

The architectural antiquities of the town, in addition to the churches, which remain for modern examination, are chiefly domestic edifices, to which may be added a portion of the Black Friars' Monastery—Christ's Hospital, erected out of the remnant of the same establishment—the Gateway of Wolsey's College —and Pykenham's Gateway.

That the town of Ipswich has held a remarkable character in the possession of rich merchants' houses, the words of Old Fuller, previously quoted, fully attest, and those yet preserved bear out the truth of his remarks. The mansions of Ipswich merchants in the 16th and 17th centuries, still to be found ornamenting the parish of St. Clement, are worthy of close inspection, and not only show the taste of the age in such matters, but attest the wealth and importance of those who, once inhabitants of the place, have now passed away from us into the impenetrable shadow of the grave. Many of these old mansions remain —some perfect, others falling rapidly to decay, all more or less inhabited by persons of far different station from those for whose accommodation they were originally erected.

The first ancient mansion arresting attention passing down Fore-street, St. Clement's, (the locality

in which they chiefly abound,) stands on the right, occupied (1846) by Mr. George Ridley, wine merchant. It carries a series of fine bay windows on the first story, and ornamented eaves. The name of its original possessor was JHON VMERE. It was built in 1588, and has a fine architectural exterior.

The next house of this character worthy of notice is the Neptune Inn, an exceedingly fine specimen, and not built for its present purposes. Here are similar windows to the foregoing house, and carved eaves. Within, is much good wood carving, in wainscoting, ceilings, and fire-places. The rear of the premises indicates erection at a period far anterior to the front, which bears the date 1639.

A few doors from the Neptune, towards the lower end of the street, is the gable of a fine house, on which appears the date 1636. It forms a dwelling to one of the malting establishments of John Cobbold, Esq. It is quite evident upon examination, that the part existing is but a portion of the whole, and that the entire erection was one of great beauty and magnitude.

Perhaps the most interesting specimen of an ancient house which this district exhibits is to be found in a passage leading from St. Clement's street to the Quay, familiarly called Brown's yard. What remains in the year 1846 is in a sad condition of dilapidation, from which it is not likely to be rescued. The front of the building next St. Clement's street is not so ancient as the back, the former bearing date 1612 only. The rear is certainly of the period of Elizabeth, perhaps of Edward VI, and is worthy inspection.*

The principal remains of this fine relic is a gable within the passage or yard mentioned—a corner post,

* An etching of this house is published in the *Picturesque Antiquities of Ipswich*, folio. Pawsey, 1845.

and a window with thick timber mouldings running along the front looking towards the water—the view of which is now shut out by coal sheds. The corner post presents two carvings. On the side entering the yard from the street is Elizabeth, or as some antiquarians suppose, Edward VI, though we think without sufficient shew of reason. The figure is crowned, and holds a sword. A scroll appears in front descending to the feet. On this scroll are three lions.

Upon the side next the river is an armed male figure, with the visor of his helmet closed. Above on a scroll appears the word "Mars."

Over these figures is an heraldic shield cut in wood, on which is a bend undée above the male figure, and above the other figure is a merchant's mark containing the monogram T. C. or T. G.—which however cannot be defined with any degree of certainty, and from this circumstance, to whom this once magnificent house belonged, or by whom erected, cannot now perhaps be decided.

In the research made for an ancient owner, or rather in seeking to whom these letters probably refer, two persons have been selected—Thomas Cavendish, a gay buccaneer, who sailed round the world in 1586, and some member of the family of Goldingham, long connected with Ipswich, though seated at Belstead, a few miles from the town.

The ownership of Cavendish is perhaps without proof. With the probability that the letters are T. C and not T. G. the presumption ends. That the initials relate to Thomas Goldingham, the evidence amounts to a higher degree of probability, and without doubt, the shield, if armorial, bears the Goldingham arms.

To whomsoever this house belonged, or by whom built, it is clear from its style, that it was intended for

the residence of some person of great wealth and considerable eminence.

One fine room remains in this mansion. Its beauty has now however departed, and the carved wainscot with which it was lined, has long been torn down and removed. A newel staircase led to this apartment, and is still used as the means of general access to the upper part of the house. Every portion of the building however is neglected in the extreme. Coals occupied in 1846, the ground floor. Above, a basket-maker had made the apartment having the fine window, the depository for his osiers, and in the upper or *attic* story, *a boat builder* plied his naval occupation, making his launches down the staircase.

In a house nearly opposite this interesting building, is a fire-place,* with painted panels, which claims the attention of the antiquary, and is in some degree connected with the eminent occupant just described, if that building was ever the residence of Cavendish. This celebrated person engaged, as the captain of one of his ships, a brave and clever mariner named Thomas Eldred, who not joining the last expedition, escaped the watery grave which overtook his commander, and died peaceably in this town.

The fire-place of the house now mentioned, exhibits three paintings, believed to be a portrait of Capt. Thomas Eldred, of Ipswich—a globe—and a ship, thought not unlikely to represent the vessel in which he sailed. These pictures are rudely painted, and evidently about the time of Cavendish's voyages, but by whom executed, or by what circumstances they came into their present situation, if not placed there by one of Eldred's immediate descendants, it is difficult to conjecture.

* See *Picturesque Antiquities of Ipswich.*

The family of Eldred produced two remarkable individuals, one of whom John Eldred, a member of the Cloth Workers' Company, London, visited Tripoli, and other far distant places, for the purposes of mercantile enterprise ;—and Thomas, connected with the town of Ipswich. In 1527, John Eldred purchased of Sir Thomas Kytson, and Elizabeth, his wife, the manor and advowson of Great Saxham, in this county, for the sum of £3000, and lies buried in the chancel of Great Saxham Church, where is a painted bust in a niche in the wall, and a brass on the floor to his memory.

Thomas Eldred, of Ipswich, married Margery Stud, of this town, and had a son named John, who resided at Olivers, Essex. It tends to strengthen the supposition that the paintings in the house in St. Clement's parish, are connected with Thomas Eldred, when it is mentioned, that pictures of a similar character, though with slight deviations, were found at the seat of his son. Craven Ord, Esq. a gentleman connected with this county, and one who took the greatest delight in every matter connected with its history, exhibited in 1802, to the society of Antiquaries, three paintings from Olivers; a portrait of Thomas Eldred, representing him in a ruff, and a pointed beard, a globe, and a ship. This figure holds an equinoctial dial. At the back of the picture is drawn a Jacob's, or traveller's staff, and the date 1620. It has been thought that this portrait, resembling the bust of John Eldred, at Saxham, is intended for that person, but surely, it is far more likely to find a memorial of a parent in the house of a son, than that of a more distant relative.*

In College Street, a few yards west of St. Mary Key

* In *Gage's Thingoe Hundred* is a full account of the Eldred family.

Church, is a large mansion long untenanted, the property of Nathaniel Byles, Esq. the upper and lower rooms of which contain much old carving, and in an apartment now used as a kitchen, is a carved fire-place, which if not unique, its counterpart has not hitherto been found in the county. The chief upper room is wainscotted, within about two feet of the ceiling, this space being covered with painted canvas, representing the interior of a forest, with hunters. Figures are also engaged in fishing. This "park work" is evidently an addition to the ornaments of the room, and has occupied its place but comparatively few years, the figures being habited in dresses of the style of William the Third. The ceiling is older—beamed—and in compartments bearing a rose in the centre, with a fleur-de-lis cornerwise.

The chief memorial of the "ancient time," when some wealthy burgess of the town resided within these walls, is, as previously stated, a fire-place now to be found in an apartment long used as a kitchen. Fluted pillars stand out detatched from the other parts, the lower portions, or bases of which are ornamented with male and female figures in bold relief. These are of the Elizabethan age, as displayed by the round cap, slashed doublet, and breeches of the men; with stiff collars, long gowns, and hanging girdles of the women.

Attached to this house is a long court yard, into which many of the old apartments looked or opened. The gateway, by which apparently egress was obtained to the water side, was highly ornamented, and some few remnants of its style are yet preserved.

In the year 1844, a door-way belonging to this house, leading to College Street, was blocked up, when, during the operations of the workmen, a hitherto hidden portion was disclosed. This ex-

hibited an arch, and other members of an entrance apparently Norman in style! No other part of the building shews high antiquity, with the exception of the west gable end of the house, where is to be seen much early rubble-work.

The ponderous corner posts of most houses of the 15th and 16th centuries affording means of decoration by the art of carving, advantage was taken by builders and artificers to ornament them with tracery and designs of gothic character. Our ancestors however, fully alive not only to the picturesque but the grotesque, found in these gable or corner posts abundant opportunity of indulging in both, and therefore it is that we find them carved either with a legend, bearing tasteful tracery, or exhibiting some broad caricature, often connected with the then popular views of monastic life. In Ipswich, no gable post remains on which any legend is to be found, but tracery of ornamental character remains on some, and on one, the old story of the geese cheated by the fox, is nearly as perfect as on the day when the ancient carver completed his work. Many carved posts have been removed within the last twenty years, and those existing, either falling to decay through age or perilled by the approaching strides of "improvement," will most probably not survive the present generation.

Previously to giving a list of such as yet remain, two of these posts, no longer occupying their original positions, deserve notice from the extraordinary richness of their ornaments.

At the south-east corner of Tower Lane, in Tavern Street, (before the erection of the present modern houses,) stood an ancient timber residence of a highly ornamented exterior. Its gables were high and enriched with "barge-boards" well carved in good tracery, and on the eaves beneath the upper story

appeared the names of the owners " Henry and Dorcas Buckyngham." The glory of the building was however its ornamented gable posts, of which there were two, reaching to the roof, and bearing groups of figures carved in high relief.

The lower group stood on a plinth about five feet from the ground, and reached to the floor of the first story, seven or eight feet higher. The figures represented Faith, Hope, and Charity, with their several emblems—Faith, with a cross—Hope, with an anchor —and Charity personified by a female holding a child, with two others clinging to her garments. Above the heads of the figures, were heraldic shields, but the devices upon them at the last period of examination had been obliterated. Above all was a crouching satyr, upon whose brawny shoulders the weight of the superincumbent story appeared to rest.

The upper group reaching from the beams of the first floor to the timbers of the second, consisted also of three figures, but their meaning was enigmatical. The centre figure appeared to represent a naked female, supported on each side by men habited as burghers, each of whom grasped an arm of the woman. The shields were not repeated as below, but the grinning satyr was repeated, whose broad and brute-like shoulders were thrust into a beam of the roof. These upper beams were all of them ornamented with good tracery and well calculated, even without the aid of figures, to give the house a rich and quaint appearance.

These ornaments were removed in 1815, when the fronts of all the houses from this corner to Northgate Street were pulled down, and their ancient plaster and timber fronts, which had borne the brunt of the elements for centuries, were replaced by the smooth ugliness of Woolpit brick.

In the great Court Books of the Corporation, under date 17th March, 2nd James I, is the following entry:—"Henry Buckyngham shall have a lease of the houses adjoining to the Tower church-yard, from Lady-day next, for 100 yeres at £26 : 8 yerely rent."

Though Buckyngham and his wife considerably changed the exterior of the house or houses, yet the posts now described were greatly anterior to the date when the buildings passed into their possession.

Another corner post of rich carving, stood of late years, at the angle of the shop occupied (1846) by Mr. James Conder, in the Butter Market. The figures on this were numerous, and represented the progress of some apochryphal transaction. They had been sharply cut, and even in their decay, bore abundant testimony to the taste and skill of the workman who completed them.*

Among architectural relics of this class, which yet exist in their original positions, is a gable post standing at the corner of a passage leading from Northgate Street, to the east end of the church of St. Mary Tower. The carving is exceedingly elegant, and evidently the work of an accomplished master of his art. The subject is a man striking upon an anvil. He is dressed in the costume of the 16th century. Much flowing tracery also adorns the lower portion of the post, and on the side next the church passage, is a medallion carving of a male bust in a cap, which for contour and expression is highly superior.

The age of this specimen is less than perhaps any other in the town, and not earlier than the time of James. The Italian air of the design is conclusive on

* This post is carefully preserved by Mr. James Conder, who is one of the few persons met with even in ancient towns, paying attention to the preservation of antiquities.

this point, and it is not unlikely to have been the work of a foreign artificer.

Another carved angle post stands at the corner of Foundation and Lower Brook Streets, connected with the Half-Moon public house. It is plain in the lower part, but the head or capital is carved with the ancient fable of the fox and geese—the simple bipeds appealing to their arch enemy on some disputed point upon which their own intelligence is wanting. The characteristics of all the animals are well kept.

This post most probably had a satirical use, representing some monkish fox, who used the crafty wisdom he possessed to the detriment or spoliation of the simpler laity represented by geese, and whether of local application or not, must have been daily seen by the members of the Black Friars, whose monastery stood close at hand. Most probably the monks cared little for these attempts to bring their community or its members into disrepute, it being shewn they were themselves addicted to satires of this kind, displaying grossnesses within the buildings of their conventual establishments, which have left us no strong notions of their delicacy or decency.

A mutilated post stands at the corner of Bell Lane, Stoke. The figure is apparently a dragon, but the ill-treatment it has received, renders its subject uncertain.

Another ornamented post stands at the corner of Silent Street. This has borne nothing but tracery, though much of this has been of a superior character.

Various other ornamented posts stand at the corners of several streets of the town, presenting nothing beyond common ornament, much mutilated.

In Lawrence lane at the east end of the church, leading from Tavern street to the Butter Market, is a gateway of an antique character, used as an entrance

to the White Hart Inn. The door is wide—and the spandrils are ornamented with the figure of the archangel St. Michael attacking a dragon.

The White Hart is one of the most ancient Inns in the town, though it most likely originally bore another sign more in accordance with the carving just described.

Cook Row, at the west end of the church, is mentioned in the records of the town, as early as 5th Edward III, 1331.

Among the more important relics of antiquity remaining in the town, must be mentioned the memorials yet left of the monastery of the Friars' Preachers, and of Christ's Hospital. The refectory of the former still survives in the ancient Grammar School,—and remnants of Christ's Hospital, built out of the same monastical establishment, yet stand in Shire Hall yard.

The remains of Christ's Hospital are shorn down to a portion of a quadrangle. Entire, it consisted of a front of low altitude, containing several apartments, and a quadrangle court with cloisters, having a gallery above. It was used as a house of refuge, and afterwards as a workhouse under the first enactments for relief of the poor in the reign of Elizabeth. By charter dated May 16th, in the 14th year of that Queen, its uses were enlarged and specially set forth for the relief and maintenance of poor, aged, and sick children—the cure of the diseased—and the correction of the vicious and idle. These objects however, as time progressed, underwent extreme change, and the establishment now consists of a school only, kept in Christ's Hospital school house, in the parish of St. Peter, formerly called St. Peter's Farm.

When the front building of Christ's Hospital was pulled down in 1841, the free use made by the builders, of the original materials of the monastery, was

fully disclosed. In the upper story, whole windows, formerly belonging to the dormitory of the Friars were worked into the wall, and the spaces between the mullions filled with flint and rubble.

Another relic which claims notice, and which though at present sound, and put to domestic uses, may sooner or later fall prostrate at the approach of the giant of improvement, is the gateway situated on the west side of Northgate Street, called Pykenham's gateway. This is a brick-building, containing an arched entrance, and a chamber above. On the street-side is no ornament. Upon the spandrils of the inner arch is a shield bearing a fish, probably a pike or pickerell, in allusion to the name of Pykenham.

William Pykenham, L.L.D. was Archdeacon of Suffolk, and Dean of the college of Stoke Clare, 1471. He resided several years at his official residence on this spot.

William Pykenham is mentioned in the books of the corporation in 1486, when a parcel of the common soil was granted him by the town, north of this house, 75 feet long and 8 feet broad, at 2*d.* rent.

The residence of Pykenham, stood within the wall continuing from the gateway to the south, and in which, is a small doorway displaying fine and deep mouldings.

In Northgate Street stood one of the ancient gates of the town, and beyond this as late as the days of James 1st, scarcely a house existed connected with the place. The name of the "Archdeacon's house" appears to have adhered to the residence of Pykenham from his death down to a late period. In the old boundaries of the parish of St. Mary Tower parish in the first year of James—1603, the house is mentioned thus: — "Firste for a corner tente (tenement) lately builte in

the backe lane upon the wayes under the Archdeacon Pykenham's wall, between the same and the town-wall, and neere unto the old Barrgates, with a garden plott adjoyninge, late Drayes, at the weste end of the saide tente, lately inclosed out of the common lane under the saide Archdeacon's wall."

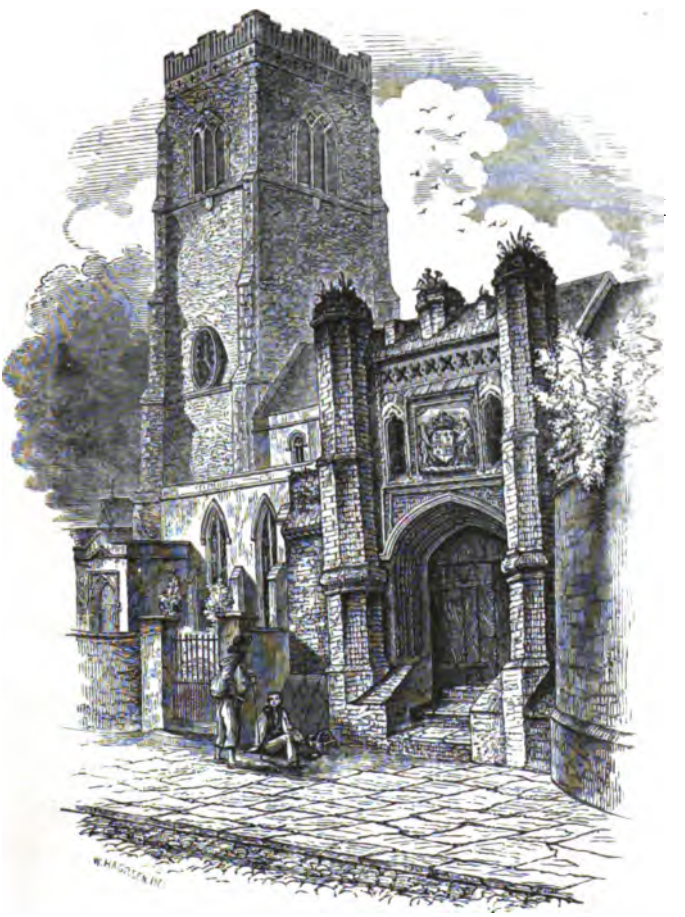
It appears from this that a portion of the ancient town-wall was standing whole at this date.

Although the history of Wolsey's college will be found in another portion of the volume, yet a gateway still remaining, claims description with the general enumeration of the antiquities of the town.

This interesting relic of the great Cardinal,—himself a native of Ipswich, is of brick, and stands abutting upon College Street, and near the east end of the church of St. Peter.* It is small, and most probably was not the chief place of egress attached to the building, which was undoubtedly built in a style of magnificence, and in accordance with the fine taste in architecture Wolsey is known to have possessed. Over the doorway are the arms of Henry, and on each side of the royal coat is a trefoil headed niche, though now containing no figures. The date of the erection of the college is 1528.

Tradition says the house in which Wolsey was born stood on the site occupied by a residence on the left hand side of the alley leading from St. Nicholas street to the church-yard of St. Nicholas, and in this year (1846) tenanted by Mr. G. Cowell, surgeon. Upon what foundation this tradition exists, is now unknown. The building itself bears no external or internal evidence of antiquity. The wall however separating the garden from the before-mentioned alley,

* Although various representations of this gateway exist, none give so faithful a view as that published in *The Picturesque Antiquities of Ipswich.*



WOLSEY'S GATE.

CHRIST CHURCH MANSION.

is composed of ponderous stones, brought from some ruined building in the neighbourhood, and, judging from the mouldings yet to be detected, most probably from the adjacent monastery of the Grey Friars which stood on land now called the Priory Gardens in this parish, where remains of exterior walls with parts of windows stood within a few years; or perhaps from the nearer church-yard of St. Nicholas, where it is believed a long-lost ecclesiastical structure dedicated to St. Michael formerly existed.

The mansion of Christ Church is a fine domestic structure, situated in a park of great beauty, within the parish of St. Margaret. It was erected in the 3rd year of Edward VI, or perhaps a few years later. The domain formed part of the possessions of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, founded in 1177.

Christ Church mansion is a brick edifice, built on the plan of a court with three sides, and has the usual characteristics of a house of the Tudor style. No doubt exists that a portion, if not the whole of the front, is more modern than some portions of the rear, and perhaps was added or rebuilt at the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, when Palladian structures were coming into vogue. Indications of the intrusion of this latter style are discernible in many members of this building, and detract from the general appearance.

The park of Christ Church, though not extensive, is well wooded, and affords many excellent views of the town and river, with the adjacent country. Here is an ancient bowling-green, upon the once smooth green sward of which, Charles II, when on a visit to Viscount Hereford the owner of the estate in the days of the Merry Monarch, played a game of bowls.

The present possessor of Christ Church is W. C. Fonnereau, Esq. eldest son of the late Rev. C. W. Fonnereau.

Of the unique specimen of pargetting, or plaster work, known as "Mr. Sparrowe's house," and situated in the Old Butter Market, a fuller description cannot be afforded than that contained in the "Historic Sites of Suffolk," viz.—

"But the great glory of Ipswich, as regards architecture, is the house of Mr. J. Eddowes Sparrowe, situate in the Old Butter Market. The weekly market for poultry, &c. was held in this street up to the year 1811. There is perhaps no house in the kingdom, which for its size, is more curiously or quaintly ornamented, or contains within its apartments more that can interest the connoisseur in painting—the student in genealogy—or the lover of antiquity. The architect of the building is unknown, but it was believed to have been built for the residence of Mr. Robert Sparrowe, in 1567, by an individual named Clyatt. It has however been discovered within a few years that in the year 1570, the building was occupied by George Copping, and by him erected in 1567. This information is contained in the will of Mrs. Joan West, made about that date, widow of William West, who in demising the Waggon Inn, still the next house to Mr. Sparrowe's residence, describes her own tenement as standing 'between *G. Copping's* house upon the west, and the tenement of — Ward, where one Ralph Carrawaye now dwelleth, on the east; whose north head abutteth on the Fish Market Street, and the south head thereof on the church-yard of St. Stephen.' Added to this evidence, the initials of G. Copping exist upon the door-way, and over the mantel piece of an inner room of the building; and being accompanied by the figures 1567, are presumed to mark not only the name of the builder, but also the date of the erection of the building.

"The exterior of the house is unique. The base-

ANCIENT HOUSE, OLD BUTTER MARKET.

ment front is finely carved in strings of pendent fruit.

"On the first story are four bay windows in the front, which is about seventy feet in length next the street; and on the base of each are respectively sculptured the emblematical figures of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, with their peculiar attributes. Above the windows is a very wide projecting cornice the whole length of the front, forming a promenade on the outside, nearly round the house. On the roof are four attic windows, forming so many gable ends, and corresponding with those beneath them. Over these upper windows are figures of Cupids in different attitudes; and the whole exterior of the building is profusely ornamented with animals, fruit, and flowers; with wreaths of roses, and devices relating to the armorial bearings of the Sparrowe family. No chimnies can be seen from the street. On the west end of the house, facing St. Stephen's lane, is represented an uncouth figure of Atlas with a long beard, kneeling on one knee, and supporting the globe on his shoulders. At the corner, a little below this, is a pastoral scene, consisting of a figure sitting under a tree surrounded by sheep: another figure, a shepherd, is approaching him, with his hat in one hand, and a crook, which projects from the wall, in the other; he is leading a flock of sheep, and is in the attitude of addressing the person who is seated beneath the tree. It is not, however, easy to determine from the foliage whether the tree is beech, oak, or elm; but there is little doubt but that the artist, being seized with a fit of classical enthusiasm, intended this effort as an illustration of the discourse between Tityrus and Milebœus in the first eclogue of Virgil.

"We are induced to believe that the ornaments

on this house are all emblematical; and we may infer from this last composition, that the wool trade then flourished in Ipswich, and was of great importance; and the other decorations in front are intended to imply that it was carried on with all quarters of the globe.

"The interior of this singular structure contains several fine rooms. The dining room is closely panelled in dark oak, carved in a manner which would do honour to the great genius of Grinling Gibbons. The fire-place, furnishing capacious chimney corners, exhibits the finest parts of the carver's skill, in wreaths of vine and pendent fruits. In the centre protrudes a strong bas relief of the arms and crest of the Sparrowe family, and on each side are panels inlaid in fanciful designs, with wood of a lighter colour than their ground work. A door to the right of the fire-place, also exhibits some fine inlaying and carving, and the beams of the room, —an unusual circumstance, are as deeply chiselled as any portion of the wainscot. The dimensions of this room are twenty-two feet by twenty-one, and although the apartment, by reason of a low ceiling and its dark lining, is rather sombre to the eye, yet unquestionably in its tout ensemble, is one of the finest rooms of its size to be found in any house in Ipswich. Upon the first floor, spreads an apartment more fitting for the mansion of a nobleman than the residence of a private individual. It extends over the whole of the front part of the house. The ceiling is traversed by heavy oak beams, and divided into compartments ornamented by ponderous wreaths of fruit. The corners are filled with shields, containing the crests of the family. The dimensions of the room are forty-six feet by twenty-one feet. In this apartment hang several old paintings, to one of which is attached a tradition, that the individual whom it

represents was, for his extreme cruelty to the Protestants, consumed alive by vermin. The manner in which this extraordinary retributive death is believed to have taken place, is not known, nor indeed do those ancient members of the family who were the last recipients of the story, profess to be acquainted with the exceeding crimes which roused the creeping things of the earth to make war against and devour the persecutor. The name of this obnoxious individual was Gosnall. If we may be allowed to judge of his character by the benign repose thrown by the painter into the countenance of this monstrous traditional offender, history has much defamed him. The resemblance is that of a quiet old man, more desirous of enjoying silence and repose in his descent to the grave, than counselling and conducting persecution against any sect, as an amusement of his declining years. He appears habited in a blue dress, setting close to his figure. Next to this picture hangs a singular portrait of James I, painted in the first year of his reign. The extremes of meanness, cunning, and duplicity appear to mingle in the countenance of the Scottish inheritor of the British throne. Judging from this portrait, it may be safely said, that if James did really penetrate the horrible mystery of the Gunpowder Conspiracy, the English parliament were indebted for its safety more to the cunning of the "canny" king, than his boasted wisdom. It may be a curious question for historical physiognomists to decide, why it happens, that James, the child of two most beautiful persons—Mary Queen of Scots and Henry Earl of Darnley, should have possessed features so ordinary, and an expression of countenance so repugnant as that with which painters uniformly represent him.

In a bed chamber adjoining this room, the ornaments of the ceiling are changed—fleur-de-lis

being substituted for the usual garlands of fruit, and the family badges. No reason can be assigned for the alteration, but the difference is not thought to have arisen solely from the taste of the ancient proprietor. A small door in one corner of the large apartment opens upon a stair-case, leading to the roof of the house, from which issues a door-way to the leads over the wide eaves of the building. These leads are sufficiently wide to afford a safe promenade, and every part of the upper portion of the building can be reached by them. In the year 1801, a singular discovery was made in this upper story of the house, namely a concealed loft, without doubt forming the roof of a chapel, the body of which existed in a room immediately beneath. The existence of this apartment was discovered by the merest accident, the connection between the loft being separated by a built-up wall. Time and damp however, displacing a portion of the plaster, the light of day found its way through the cranny, and the place was discovered. The arched timbers of a slightly ornamented roof exist within it, and at the time of its being opened, the floor was strewed with wooden angels and such figures as usually serve to decorate a catholic oratory. It is supposed that the chapel existed in a perfect state at the date of the Reformation, but after that period, the open assumption of the prescribed faith becoming dangerous, the body of this place of worship was converted into a common sitting room, and the roof concealed by a beamed ceiling.

"There exists in the Sparrowe family a tradition descending from father to son, that through the agency of one of its members—a zealous loyalist—Charles II, lay sometime concealed within this house after the battle of Worcester. Previously to the discovery of the secret room, some difficulty had arisen with regard

to the locality of the hiding place of the royal fugitive, but the opening of this chamber seems to point to its solution. It is but fair to add, that the family are not in possession of any documentary evidence proving the residence of Charles within the habitation; but there is apparently a close, yet mysterious connection existing between the Sparrowe family and the then reigning House of Stuart, which might have been of the kind to which allusion has been made. Several portraits of Charles II are in possession of the Sparrowes; as also of other members of that branch of the Stuarts. The arms of Charles stand on the exterior of the front of the house, conspicuously emblazoned; and two portraits of the monarch, and one of Mrs. Lane, are sacredly kept by a member of the family to the present day, as memorials from the hand of Charles himself, upon leaving the place. The fact of one of these miniatures being a likeness of Mrs. Lane, the heroic deliverer of the monarch from the perils of captivity, is we conceive a proof, added to other evidences of probability, that partaking the protection of the Sparrowe family, Charles sent them his likeness, with that of a fellow contributor to his safety, as an appropriate remembrance of their peculiar service. This Mrs. Lane was a maiden lady, in the house of whose brother, at Bentley, in Staffordshire, Charles II took refuge, and was conveyed by her, (Charles being put in the disguise of a servant,) from that place to Bristol. Had Charles presented the likeness of any other lady to the Sparrowes, the chain of connection would have been broken. His gift however being the portrait of one distinguished by the performance of an heroic act for his safety, it was a proper token of remembrance to be transmitted to a person who had befriended him in equally perilous circumstances. Besides the two miniatures, the present possessor of

the house in the Old Butter Market, Ipswich, holds a third of Charles 1st, enclosed in a locket.

"The premises and grounds of this singular mansion, formerly extended some distance down St. Stephen's lane, as indeed is to be collected from Joan West's will, which expresses, that they abut upon the churchyard of Stephen. The old Turret garden and bowling-green formed a portion of the grounds attached, and were laid out as an orchard and shrubbery, diversified with gravel walks.

"There exists an absurd rumour, that this property, in consequence of a peculiar devise, cannot be held, or the house inhabited by any other person than one bearing the name of "John Sparrowe." The report has not the slightest foundation in truth, and it is presumed arises from the circumstance that after the sale of the property by G. Copping, to R. Sparrowe, in 1573, it has been inhabited by the Sparrowe family only. This Robert Sparrowe was son and heir of John Sparrowe, of Somersham, and served the office of Portman of Ipswich. Among other valuable paintings in this house are the following:—

"Portrait of Charles II, by Vandyke. This painting is a *chef d'œuvre* of the real master.

"A portrait by Gainsborough of John Sparrowe, thirteen times Bailiff of Ipswich.

"Father of the above, painted by Sir Peter Lely.

"The great grandfather of the present John Eddowes Sparrowe. This ancient gentleman was parent of thirty-two children. The painting is said to be by the hand of Sir Peter Lely.

"Portrait of Judge Clench, of the Court of Common Pleas, who married Dorcas Sparrowe. The original of the portrait lies interred in Holbrook church. Hollar's engraving of the Judge is taken from this picture.

"An old lady of the family, name unknown.

REFERENCES TO MAP OF IPSWICH, 1850.

A. Saint Mary Tower Church
B. „ Margarett's „
C. „ Matthew's „
D. „ Peter's „
E. „ Lawrence „
F. „ Clement's „
G. „ Nicholas „
H. „ Mary Key „
I. „ Stephen's „
J. „ Mary Elms „
K. „ Mary Stoke „
L. „ Helen's „
M. Holy Trinity „

a. Saint Nicholas Chapel
b. Unitarian „
c. Tacket Street „
d. Turret Green „
e. Dairy Lane „
f. The Town Hall
g. The County Courts
h. Borough Gaol
i. Custom House
j. Union House
k. East Suffolk Hospital
l. Temperance Hall
m. Royal Cavalry Barracks
n. Museum
o. Projected Railway Station
p. Gas Works
q. Grammar School
r. British School
s. Saint Matthew's School
t. Christ's Hospital School
u. Infant School
v. Corn Exchange
w. Market Place
x. Foundation Alms Houses
y. Christ Church Mansion
z. Theatre
aa. County Gaol
bb. The Orwell Works
cc. Mechanics' Institution
dd. Paper Mills

1. Corn Hill
2. Tavern Street
3. Upper Brook Street
4. Lower Brook Street
5. Westgate Street
6. Saint Matthew's Street
7. Old Butter Market
8. Queen Street
9. Saint Nicholas Street
10. Saint Peter's Street
11. Museum Street
12. Northgate Street
13. Colman Street
14. Carr Street
15. Saint Helen's Street
16. Tacket Street
17. Clement's Fore Street
18. Foundation Street
19. Upper Orwell Street
20. Lower Orwell Street
21. River Gipping
22. River Orwell
23. Wet Dock

"Sir John Sparrowe, Knight of the Green Cloth, in the reign of James II, by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

"Captain Robert Sparrowe, captain of the Train Bands.

"On the stair-case hangs a full-length portrait of George I, by G. Fountaine, 1727, presented by the monarch to John Sparrowe, bailiff of Ipswich, in return for attentions received during his visit to Ipswich from Mr. Sparrowe, and the presentation of a huge sweet cake called a Marchpane.

"On the upper landing-place hangs a likeness of Henrietta Maria, consort of Charles I, by Vandyke.

"A portrait of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

"The present possessor of this interesting mansion has in his possession a genealogical descent of his family, commencing in the year 1419, with Thomas Sparrowe de Somersham in com Suffolk.

"It appears that the ancestors of the Sparrowe family were as anxious that their last and "narrow house" should be as snug and comfortable as that they inhabited when living. In St. Lawrence church, on the entrance to the family vault, are inscribed the following words:—

"NIDUS PASSERUM."

An interesting relic of the riches of Ipswich in domestic structures existed a few years since in Tacket Street; but the last portion was removed in 1843. This was a part of the residence of Sir Anthony Wingfield, one of the executors of Henry VIII, but converted into a public house called the Tankard, now entirely rebuilt in front and named the Theatre Tavern. The Gentleman's Magazine, and Clarke's History of Ipswich, contain descriptions of part of the interior of the old building, which, as they were written when the mansion was to a certain extent perfect, are now extracted.

"In the Tankard public-house some curious remains of the decorations of Sir Anthony's mansion still exist, particularly in a large room on the ground floor; the oak wainscot of which—beautifully carved in festoons of flowers, and a variety of devices—was formerly gilt, but is now painted blue and white. The ceiling is of groined work, carved and wrought something after the manner of Henry VIIth's chapel at Westminster. In various compartments of this ceiling, numerous coats of arms are sculptured, and have been emblazoned in their proper colours; most of which are defaced, but still several of those of the Wingfield family, encircled with the motto of the Order of the Garter, remain in tolerable preservation. This room is twenty-seven feet long, sixteen feet nine inches wide, and only nine feet five inches high. The ceiling is divided into panels sixteen inches and a half square; there are twelve of these in the length of the room, and eight in the breadth; each panel is bordered with a band, and alternately emblazoned with a coat of arms, or filled up with a projecting ornament, in the shape of an inverted pediment, with concave sides, richly carved, and pendentive six inches from the ceiling: each of these projections terminates nearly in a point, tipped with a leaf or rose. There is one large beam intersects the ceiling, in the centre, the whole length of the room, and two smaller transverse ones—one of them a little deviating from its original horizontal position.

"Over the fire-place is a basso relievo, rudely carved in wood, and coloured in a tasteless style. On our inspection of this curious relic, it was melancholy to note how the figures had been mutilated, beheaded, and defaced. We were told that this wanton mischief was principally perpetrated by the military, when this was a garrison town: and we were rejoiced

to find that the sober citizens of Ipswich were not guilty of such an outrage against decency and taste.

"The interpretation of this sculpture has been thus given, agreeable to the generally received but ridiculous tradition, that it represented the battle of Bosworth Field. "Leicester town, in one corner; several warriors in the centre; Sir Charles William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl of Richmond, lies dead by his horse, and on the other side the standard; at a distance is the earl, with the crown placed upon his head by Sir William Stanley; in another is Leicester Abbey—the abbot coming out of the porch to compliment the earl." Now one would think that this was clear enough, but the magic wand of another conjuror turns the whole picture into the Judgment of Paris, and its consequences, in five compartments. "In the first," says this writer, "he appears seated, habited in the Phrygian robe and bonnet, amusing himself with his lute, when the three goddesses present themselves. The next scene is his adjudgment of the prize; when Juno, as Queen of Heaven, leads the way, followed by Venus disclosing all her charms, and Pallas with the Gorgon's head and Ægis. Paris, won by the attractions of the Goddess of Love, and her assistant son, who hovers above in the air, decrees to her the prize which he holds in his hand. We next view him armed *cap a pie*, reclining perhaps at the foot of the statue of his patroness, meditating his conquest; his lance lying beside him, and his horse standing saddled and bridled. The reclining warrior and the horse are the only figures in the piece that could possibly suggest the idea of the battle of Bosworth Field; but the latter might, with as much propriety, have been taken for the Trojan horse, as for that of Richard III, or Paris for that king. Below, in the left corner, we see Paris and some of his friends,

with horses, preparing to carry off Helen; and in the distance they appear offering up their vows in the temple of Venus, or perhaps solemnizing their nuptials, while the horse or horses are waiting without."

The chief memorials of antiquity remaining in the town have now been enumerated and described, perhaps as regards some, with too much minuteness. But as the extensive alterations and improvements, which at the present time are constantly going on, involve, in many instances, an entire removal of the few remaining memorials of olden time; it has become necessary to particularize, what, under less changeful circumstances, would meet with but a passing notice.

We will now retrace our steps and take a slight glance at the early history of the town.

No information handed down to the present generation, or discoveries made by antiquaries, have led to the decision that the site of modern Ipswich was *occupied* by the Romans. Probabilities incline to the opinion, that as the Danes found a considerable town here, the Saxons being undoubtedly located upon the spot, the Romans were acqainted with a locality offering many natural advantages. Still, no certainty exists with reference to this point, and it is therefore to be presumed only, that these great civilizers of the world might have erected villas, or raised altars upon the ground on which the town now stands.

That the district was known to the Romans admits of no dispute, and that they fixed and occupied military stations in this as in other counties, the Itinerary of Antoninus, the researches of the Rev. Charles Mason, D.D. F.R.S. rector of Orford, the Rev. Thomas

Leman, late of Bath, (rector of Wenhaston,)* and John Ives, Esq. F.R S. fully prove. The Romans had stations at Wulpet, (now Woolpit) Thetford, Burgh near Yarmouth, and Caister, in Norfolk. At Walton also, near Ipswich, it is believed a Roman camp existed, upon land now covered by the sea. They can be traced at several spots down the river Orwell, both on its right and left banks. Roman remains have been found at Coddenham, and nearer the town than that village. The plough occasionally throws up in the neighbourhood, indications of Roman households, or of the troops of the empire. Coins, brooches, buckles, rings, vases, spear heads, and fragments of horse furniture, have been disturbed from spots where they have remained inurned from the time of their deposit. Still no such indications have been found within the old or modern circuit of the town of Ipswich likely to settle the enquiry whether the Romans were the first founders of the town, with any degree of certainty.

Gippeswic, the earliest name of Ipswich which has come down to us, is undoubtedly of Saxon origin. This is powerful evidence in favour of the non-existence of a town upon the site before the Saxons had bestowed their own name upon the place, particularly

* The Rev. Thomas Leman, A.M. F.S.A. son of the Rev. John Leman, of Wenhaston, by Anne his wife, daughter of Clement Reynolds, of Cambridge. Mr. Leman was a most intelligent antiquary, and a great authority on the Roman roads of Britain. He died on the 17th of March, 1826, at Bath, the last male descendant of his ancient name, and was buried in the burial ground of Walcot parish in that city, but an altar tomb is erected to his memory in the chancel of Wenhaston church. Six brass plates are affixed to this monument, each bearing a shield of arms. There are 64 quarterings on the tomb, most of which were brought by the marriage of John Leman, grandfather of the antiquary, with Theophila Naunton, daughter of Robert Naunton, nephew of Sir Robert the secretary. There are also the achievements of the marriage of his ancestors with the Sherwoods and Sterlings.

as it is known that the word Gippeswic is a compound derived from the small stream, the Gipping, in early days perhaps carrying its name to a considerable distance down the Orwell, and the "wic," or town upon its banks.

The history of the Romans in Suffolk is soon told. In A.D. 43, the Emperor Claudius, determined on conquering the Britons, dispatched to the country of his intended enterprize 50,000 soldiers of the empire, who established themselves in Essex, and in other places. The neighbouring parts of the country were inhabited by a warlike race, the Iceni, with whom the new-comers made truce, and sought rather to ingratiate themselves than oppose them. Eighteen years after the first landing of the Romans, the king of the Iceni, in whose dominions the present county of Suffolk is included, died, and he perhaps fearing his powerful neighbours, or knowing the desolateness of his kingdom at his own death, thought to preserve his possessions to his family, and to maintain peace, by a division of his riches between the Roman emperor and his own daughters. As might naturally be inferred, the precisely contrary effect was the result. The Romans, not satisfied with a portion of the spoil, desired the whole, and the entire mass breaking the truce which had existed during the life-time of the deceased monarch, spread themselves over the face of the hitherto peaceful country and seized all the lands as their own. It was at this period the widowed queen, the well-known Boadicea, collected the forces of her outraged kingdom, as well as those of her neighbouring powers, and made to them that celebrated harangue, familiar to all readers of English history. Displaying her two daughters who had been ravished by the Roman soldiery, she called loudly on the Britons to extirpate the bloody and wicked inva-

ders from the soil of the island. The dauntless natives, fired by the language of their widowed queen, and prone to revenge her wrongs, attacked the Romans with the greatest impetuosity. They were at first victorious, but bravery alone could but ill withstand equal courage, supported by the consummate discipline of their enemies. The Britons were eventually routed, and 80,000 men left dead upon the fields of battle.

The victorious general, master of the district, proceeded to put his projects in force for the perfect occupation of the locality he had conquered, and which perhaps had occupied his thoughts when he yet dwelt in peace under the truce existing between himself and the last monarch of the Iceni. Roads were pushed forward from Camulodunum (Colchester) towards the sea-coast, passing through Woolpit and Thetford, to Burgh, near Yarmouth, and Caistor, in Norfolk. Sitomagus, by some placed at Woolpit, by others at Thetford, and lately by the Rev. A. G. H. Hollingsworth, vicar of Stowmarket, at Haughley,* upon the site of the castle farm, if not their chief camp or station, yet divided the palm with Burgh. From these points they traversed the district to the right and left, at the same time advancing towards the object of their desire, a communication with the sea. They made numerous small settlements where the country favoured their purposes, or attracted them by its fertility. Modern research has tracked these people along the shores of the county from Burgh to Walton, where they appear to have erected a strong building, now submerged in the sea.

Although all positive evidence seems adverse to the supposition that the site of Ipswich was ever occupied as a Roman town or colony, yet a con-

* *History of Stowmarket.* Ipswich: Pawsey, 1844.

sideration of the general practice of these people, (as evidenced by their abundant remains in different parts of the county,) would seem to render such a circumstance extremely probable, and altogether favours the idea that they would hardly have failed to occupy the head of a river, so important as the Orwell. Why indeed might not the Saxon castle of Ipswich have been erected on the remains of some military defence of the Romans, and why may not the very site of Ipswich have borne some important settlement of the ancient conquerors of the Iceni?

Perhaps the future discovery of the remains of a Roman villa, with tesseræ, hypocaust, &c. may place the question of the Roman occupation of the site of Ipswich on more tangible grounds than it rests at present, and afford additional and local evidence of the richness and comfort, as well as durability, of Roman domestic residences. For this however we must wait with patience.

At the departure of the Romans from Britain, a veil of impenetrable darkness appears to envelope the history of every portion of the country. At length the incursions of Picts and Scots led the inhabitants, considerably changed by the admixture of Roman blood among them, to invite the war-like nation of the Saxons to pay a visit to the land, a proceeding eventually leading to the more complete subjugation of the kingdom to these people, than had been the case under their Roman conquerors.

It would be apart from the particular subject of this volume to record the many immigrations of the Saxons to this land. It is sufficient here to state that the tribes which over-ran the county of Suffolk came over at the end of the sixth century, and by their superior power and strength fixed themselves so permanently in the soil, as to give this portion of Great

Britain the name of East Anglia. This denomination was more particularly appropriated to the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, with a portion of Cambridgeshire, the chief towns being Norwich, Thetford, Ely and Cambridge. The founder of the East Anglian kingdom was Uffa, the survivor of the twelve chieftains who invaded the country.

The history of the Saxons in East Anglia is so closely interwoven with that of the Danes, who for many years disturbed the quiet of the district, burning and plundering each town and place of abode erected by the former, that the events of this era cannot be separated. Britain had yielded too much wealth to foreign invaders having enterprise to attack her, to remain many years unvisited by hordes of barbarians who, after flooding Europe, cast their wandering eyes across the sea in search of new lands and new people whom they should conquer. To the Saxons therefore succeeded the Danes, who made three several eruptions into East Anglia, in each inroad visiting Gippeswic with the full force of native fury, casting down its walls, and inflicting fire and slaughter on its devoted inhabitants.

We cannot present a more vivid picture of the ruthless progress of these people in this locality, than is afforded in that interesting record, the Saxon Chronicle. In it are mentioned the three visits paid by the Danes to the town of Gippeswic, and a distinct notice of the great battle fought on Rushmere heath, between the brave Saxon Ulfkytel and the common enemy, memorials of which remain in tumuli to this day. Transcripts of original history are at all times valuable, and such passages of the Saxon Chronicle are now extracted, as bear on the subject of East Anglia, and more particularly the town of Gippeswic. The truthful simplicity of this record is alone a strong

inducement to extract largely, but the local historical circumstances found in the document, render this reason supererogatory.*

Those portions of the Saxon Chronicle, relating to Ipswich and the locality, are as follows:—

A. D.

636 Bishop Felix preached the Christian faith to the East Angles.

799 Bishop Alfun died at Sudbury, and was buried at Domuc (Dunwich.)

823 And the same year the king of the East Angles and his people sought the alliance and protection of king Egbright, for dread of the Mercians; and the same year the East Angles slew Beornwulf, king of Mercia.

866 And the same year a great army of heathens (Danes) came to England and took up their winter quarters among the East Angles, and there they were supplied with horses, and the people made peace with them.

867 This year the invading army went from East Anglia across the mouth of the Humber to York, into Northumberland.

870 This year the heathen army rode over Mercia into East Anglia, and took up their winter quarters at Thetford. And in the winter the king St. Edmund fought with them, and the Danes gained the victory and slew the king, and they subjected all the land, and destroyed all the monasteries to which they came.

879 And the army (the Danes) went from Cirencester into East Anglia, and fixed themselves in that land and divided it.

* The barrows on Rushmere heath, called the Seven Hills, were opened in 1764. Ashes were found in some. One disclosed pieces of apparently human bone.

885 And the same year king Alfred sent a fleet from Kent to East Anglia. As soon as they came to the mouth of the Stour, they met sixteen private ships, and they gave them battle immediately, and they took all the ships and slew the men, but as they were returning homeward with the booty, they met a large fleet of pirates, and they fought with them also the same day, and the Danes gained the victory. * * * * And this year the army in East Anglia broke the peace with king Alfred.

890 And Guthrum king of the Northmen (Danes) died; his baptismal name was Ethelstan, and he was Alfred's godson: he dwelt in East Anglia, and first colonized that land.*

894 This year, it being about twelve months after they had built the fortress in the eastern kingdom, the Northumbrians and the East Angles, who had taken oaths to king Alfred, the East Angles having also given him six hostages, yet broke their faith, and whenever the other armies went out to plunder, these went forth also, either with them or in a separate division.

905 This year Ethelwold induced the army (Danes) in East Anglia to break the peace, and they ravaged Mercia. (Ethelwold, who had persuaded them to the war, was soon after killed.)

921 And immediately after this, in harvest, a great force was collected out of Kent, out of Surrey, and out of Essex, and out of the towns on all sides, and they marched to Colchester, and they besieged the town and fought against it, until they subdued it, and they seized all that was

* After the defeat and death of the king, St. Edmund. *Simeon of Durham.*

therein, and they slew all the inhabitants excepting those who escaped over the wall. And during the same autumn a great army was gathered together out of East Anglia, consisting of the land forces, and also of such Vikingars as the others had persuaded to join them; and they thought to satisfy their desire of vengeance. They went to Malden and besieged that town, and they fought there until aid came to the Burghers from without, and then the army left the town and departed. And the townsmen, and those who had arrived to succour them, sallied forth after them and put them to flight, and slew many hundreds both of pirates and others. Immediately after this, during the same autumn, the king* went to Passenham with the troops of Wessex, and he abode there while his men inclosed Towcester with a stone wall. * * * And again the same year, before Martinmas, king Edward went to Colchester with the Wessex troops, and he repaired the town and restored that which had been demolished. And all the army of East Anglia sware to be as one with him; that they would will all that he should will, and that they would keep peace both by sea and land, with all whom he should befriend. And the army at Grantawbrycge (Cambridge) separately acknowledged him for their lord and patron, and confirmed this with oaths even as he desired.

919 This year GIPPESWIC was plundered, and very soon afterwards the Alderman Brihtnoth was slain at Malden. And the same year it was first proposed that a tribute should be paid to the

* Edward, son of Alfred.

Danes, because of the great terror in which they kept the coasts. This tribute was at first ten thousand pounds; it was Archbishop Siric who gave this counsel.

993 This year Anlaf came to Staines with 93 ships, and plundered that part of the country; and he went thence to Sandwich, and so on to GIPPESWIC, and laid all waste, and thus he proceeded to Malden. And then the Alderman Brihtnoth came against him, and their armies fought, but the Alderman was slain, and Anlaf's army kept possession of the field of battle, and peace was made with him, and the king afterwards stood godfather at his confirmation, by the advice of Siric, Bishop of Canterbury, and of Ælfeag of Winchester.

1004 This year Sweyn came with his fleet to Norwich, and plundered and burned the whole town. Then Ulfkytel with the Witan of East Anglia concluded that it was better to buy a peace of that army before they did much harm in the country; for the enemy had come upon him unawares, neither had he time to collect his troops; but in the time of truce the Danes stole up from the ships and directed their course to Thetford. When Ulfkytel heard this, he sent desiring that the ships might be hewn in pieces, but this order was neglected. He himself assembled troops secretly and speedily as he might. And the invaders came from Thetford, within three weeks from the time that they first plundered Norwich, and they remained one night in the town and then plundered and burned it. Then on the morning when they would have returned to their ships, Ulfkytel came up with his troops and they en-

gaged in battle with fury, and the slaughter was great on either side. The prime of East Anglia fell there, but if all their forces had been collected, the Danes, as they acknowledged, would never have returned to their ships.

1010 This year, after Easter, the aforesaid army (Danes) invaded the Angles; they landed at GIPPESWIC, and marched strait forward to the place where, as they heard, Ulfkytel was with the troops.* This was on the morning of Ascension-day, and the East Anglians took to flight, but the men of Cambridgeshire stood their ground firmly. The king's son-in-law Æthelstow was slain there, and Oswi and his sons, and Wulfric the son of Leofwin, and Eadwig the brother of Æfic, and many other good Thanes, and more than can be numbered of the common people * * * and after this they (Danes) were masters of East Anglia, and they continued to burn and plunder the country for the space of three months, and they even penetrated into the wild fens, and slew both men and cattle, and they set all on fire, and they burned the towns of Thetford and Cambridge. * * *

So far the Saxon Chronicle.

It is probable that the Danish chief who led his army against Gippeswic was Anlaf, a Northumbrian, a ruler, if not a native of that kingdom. It is clear that if not the projector of the first attack, he was of the second. This Dane has been confounded with another of the same name, Anlaf the black, but the latter was slain in his marauding exploits many years

* Rushmere, near Ipswich.

previously. The name of Anlaf was borne by several monarchs of Northumbria, one of whom was converted to Christianity, and died in 942.

The chief Guthrum, mentioned in this record, lived after his conversion at Hadleigh, or Head-leige, and died in the year 889. Converted to the Christian faith, by Alfred, he was baptised and given the name of Athelstan. He reigned over the whole province, and the Saxon town of Gippeswic became subject to the laws promulgated by him.* Guthrum is supposed to have been buried in a spot now covered by the church of Hadleigh, and an arch is shewn in the south wall said to stand above his grave. This arch is gothic however, and cannot mark his place of sepulture. In 1767 the floor and earth beneath were opened, when a grave was discovered of ancient character, the bottom tessalated with small glazed tiles, on which remained a slight quantity of light blue ashes—"circumstances which," says a well-informed writer, "seem to corroborate the record, and the local appropriation of antiquity."

A dispute has arisen upon the probability of the burial place of Guthrum being that described, and it is contended that this grave must be rejected as that of the Danish leader, from the circumstance that these people either burnt or buried their chieftains in tumuli. Such however was not the mode followed by those converted to Christianity. Olaus Wormius, distinguishes three epochs, in each of which a different mode of sepulture prevailed. The first Roisold or Brende-tiid, the age of burning—Hoigold, when the body was not burnt, but buried entire in the midst of a circle of stones,—and the third Christen-

* It is stated that this Chief in one of his marauding exploits crossed the Orwell to or from Chelmondiston, and that this name is but a corruption of Guthulues fordham—Guthrum's ford.

dom's Old, which commenced when Christianity prevailed. The mode of interment then practised, of depositing the body in the grave unburnt and without any incumbent barrow, has been continued ever since.*

The accounts herewith given of the several pillages of Gippeswic by the Danes, are probably not all which the town suffered. In the year 1003 an army of these people made its appearance in this country, to attempt the retrieval of disasters which had befallen their fellows in Britain on the 13th of November, 1002, when on the festival of St. Brice, multitudes of Danes were treacherously murdered by an arrangement of the Saxons. The new army sent to avenge the death of their brethren, sworn to the task, visited, burnt, and ravaged almost every town of note in the kingdom, those of East Anglia among others. It is not unlikely therefore that Gippeswic felt on this occasion the hand of its former remorseless enemy. Composed of the flower of the Danish nation, this army, not encumbered by the presence of a single aged person, and unpolluted by a slave, traversed the country in every direction, retracing its steps by the ashes of the towns it had plundered and consumed. No record, however, distinctly names Gippeswic as having fallen under the direful infliction of a visit in this particular irruption.

Of the actual state and magnitude of Gippeswic, in the days of the Saxons, but little is known, though there can be no doubt it was a place of consequence, having a mint, was surrounded by a wall and ditch, and paying, like all towns of importance, a fee-farm rent to the king.

The coins of this period which have been found minted at Gippeswic are as follows:—

* *Bloxam's Glimpse.*

Saxon ..	Eadgar ..	*Circa*	964	*Rev.* Gip.	
.. ..	Eadweard II ..		976	.. Gipe.	
.. ..	Aethelrid.....		979	.. Gepeswic	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gip.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipe.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipes.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gypes.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipis.	
.. ..	Canute		1017	.. Gipes.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipesces.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipeswi.	Ipswich.
.. ..	Edward		1042	.. Gipe.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gife.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipp.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gippe.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipsü.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipsn.	
.. ..	Harold		1052	.. Gipn.	
Norman..	William I		1066	.. Gip.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipe.	
.. ..	..	..	..	.. Gipi.	
.. ..	William II....		1087	.. Gepi.	

Information upon the subject of these early provincial mints is exceedingly scanty. What time the mint at Ipswich ceased working is with no degree of certainty ascertained, or perhaps ascertainable, though specimens of the Ipswich mint down to Henry III have been found. In the 9th of king John we find the moneyers called to London with their dies sealed, to receive the king's command. In the writ calling the Ipswich moneyers to the king, were included also those of Bury St. Edmunds, Norwich, and Lynn.

We now arrive at a period when written history affords information that cannot mislead. The Saxons having conquered the Danes, were in their turn conquered by the Normans, and the Conqueror, anxious to ascertain the most minute account of his newly-acquired kingdom, caused the survey known as Domesday-book to be commenced in 1080.

In this invaluable record is the following information connected with Ipswich.

THE KING'S LANDS OF THE ROYALTY WHICH ROGER BIGOT HOLDS IN SUFFOLK.

The Half Hundred of Ipswich. In the town of Ipswich, Stigand had in King Edward's time 2 burgesses with soc. and sac. and the king used to have the custom. Now they are dead and the king hath custom and soc. and sac.

Roger Bigot holds this in manor of the king. Of the Half Hundred of Ipswich, and of the town, queen Edeva had in king Edward's time two parts, and Earl Guert the third part. The same queen used to have in her demense one grange, to which used to belong in K. Ed. time iiij carucates of land and the same now. Of this land xij free-men dwelling on their own proper land always hold lxxx acres to service and custom of the king. And there are x other men borderers, who have not their own proper land, but dwell on lxxxvj acres of the above-mentioned land. There belong still to the demense of the above-mentioned grange two burgesses, who pay to the king vj^{s}. for custom. And then ij ploughs in the demense and afterwards the same, now j. Then iij bond-women, now viij. Then ij horses, now j. Then xiiij goats, now vij. Then xl sheep, now xiij, and the villains always have vj ploughs. This land contains in length viij quarenta, and the same in breadth, and pays nothing in tax to the king. In the town there were (in K. Ed. time) dxxxviij burgesses paying custom to the king, and had xl acres of land. But now there are cx burgesses who pay custom, and c poor burgesses who are not able to pay to the tax of the king except one penny in capite. And amongst the whole of the same they have xl acres of land. And there are cccxxviij wasted dwellings in the town, which in K. Ed. time contributed to the king's tax. In the

same town Alnulfers the Priest has j church, Holy Trinity, to which belong xxvj acres in Elemosina. And one Cullingus a burgess has j church St. Mary of xxvj acres. Tumbius j church St. Mary of ij acres. Lestanus the Priest j church St. Augustin of xj acres. Ulvinus the Priest j church St. Michael of viij acres. In Thurleston, in Claydon Hundred, Godricus j church St. Botulf of j acre. Turchillus and Edricus hold j church St. Laurence of xij acres. To the festival of St. John it was half a year that Lefflet a certain free-woman held this church, which in K. Ed. time Earl Alan reclaimed to the fee of Earl Radulf, and calls upon Jno Tailbois to free it. But Turchillus and Edric call upon Roger the Sheriff persisting in saying that they had the church of him. And Roger (says) that this was considered just when one Gaurant was sheriff in K. Ed. time. Ascar j church of St. Peter of j acre, and Godric the church of St. Stephen of j acre.

The whole paid in K. Ed. time xv$^{li.}$ and vj sextaria of honey, and iiij$^{s.}$ for custom of honey, and viij$^{s.}$ to the priests, and Roger the sheriff gave the whole to farm for xl$^{li.}$ at the festival of St. Michael. Afterwards he could not have census, and from this he forgave lx$^{s.}$ Now it pays xxxvij$^{li.}$ And the moneyers used to pay per annum in K. Ed. time iiij$^{li.}$ for money-making. Now they ought to pay xx$^{li.}$, but for four years it has not been paid save xxvij$^{li.}$ And the Earl always has the third part.

LAND OF EARL ALAN.

Half Hundred of Ipswich. In the town of Ipswich Earl Guert held in K. Ed. time one grange, to which belonged ij carucates of land, always vij borderers. Then and afterwards j plough, now none. Always iij ploughs belonging to the tenants, iiij

acres of pasture, part of a mill. This land contains iiij quarenta in length and iiij in breadth. Then it was worth c^{s}. with third penny of the town and was made free for xx^{s}. and with third penny of the town, and with third penny of the two Hundreds, but now it only pays xv^{s}.

In Westerfeld vj free-men. In K. Ed. time xx acres, always j plough, and are in part of Ipswich. The Earl holds in demense—the King and Earl soc.

In Baylham, Warengerus holds of Roger Bigot, j free-man by name Brun, a bailiff of Ipswich,* and in commendatum to the Queen, and hath xvij acres, this lies in Stonham, and the King and Earl together have soc.

LAND OF ROBERT MALET.

Half Hundred of Ipswich. In the town Robert hath j burgess which his predecessor held in commendatum in K. Ed. time. The King hath the customs.

LAND OF LANFRANC ARCHBISHOP.

In Ipswich j house with half an acre, and in toft of Eduias a free-man ij acres and a half, and is worth vj^{d}.

LAND OF ST. ALDRED.†

Half Hundred of Ipswich. Stoches (the Hamlet of Stoke) held of St. Aldred iij carucates of land for manor in K. Ed. time, always ix villains, and then v borderers, now xv. Then j bond-man, always ij

* Not a governing bailiff.

† St. Etheldreda. This pious lady held the whole of the Isle of Ely, settled upon her by her first husband Toubert, a mighty chief among the East Anglians. Her second husband was Egfrid, son of Oswy king of Northumberland, and nephew of Ethelwold, king of East Anglia. She died in 675, holding large possessions in Suffolk, for which she is here more particularly noticed. Her possessions are now held by the See of Ely.

ploughs on the demense, and vj ploughs of the tenants, and j church of xl acres of free land, and j mill, and xx acres of pasture, and xij bond-women, and xx swine, and xxiiij sheep, and xiiij goats, and still St. Aldred hath a moiety of soc. which is beyond the bridge. Then it was worth iiij$^{li.}$ now c$^{s.}$; it contains vj quarenta in length and vj in breadth.

LANDS OF RICHARD SON OF EARL GISLEBERT.

Half Hundred of Ipswich. In the town of Ipswich, Wisgarus held j church St. Peter, in K. Ed. time, to which belonged then and now, vj carucates of land for manor. Then and afterwards vj villains, now viij. Then and afterwards v borderers, now xv. Then iiij bond-men, always ij ploughs on the demense. Then iij ploughs, now iiij. Then in the wood viij swine, now iiij, always j mill and iij acres of pasture, now j horse, and j bond-woman, and ix swine, and lxxx sheep. To this church still belong v burgesses, and in the town xv acres of free land, and vj empty dwellings. From the before-mentioned vj carucates of land the Sheriff Roger laid claim to c acres and v villains, and j mill for the manor of the king at Bramford, and v villains of the same manor bear witness for him. But the Half Hundred of Ipswich bear witness that this belonged to the church in K. Ed. time, and Wisgarus held, and offer to prove it. Then it was worth c$^{s.}$ now xv$^{li.}$ with other lands which belong to this church. In the same town Richard hath xiij burgesses, whom Phin held in K. Ed. time, always iiij, from these he used to have soc. and sac. and commendatum. One of them his servant, and above xij, held in commendatum but dwelt on their own proper land and paid to the town all the customs, &c.

In Thurleston lxxxxj acres belonging to the church of St. Peter of Ipswich, and is worth xv$^{s.}$ and xv

free-men hold also a part of the above-mentioned which contain x quarenta in length and vj in breadth, and pays xx$^{d.}$ for tax. Others have possessions there.

LAND OF SUAN.

Half Hundred of Ipswich. In the town Robert held in K. Ed. time xlj burgesses with soc. and sac. and commendatum, and the king had the other customs. Of these xv having died, he lost commendatum, but he hath soc. and sac. and of the others likewise, and the king hath the other customs.

LAND OF GOSFRED DE MAGNAVILLE.

In Ipswich j dwelling and appurtenances in the Marsh.

LANDS OF PETER DE VALOINS.

Half Hundred of Ipswich. In the town of Ipswich Roger hath j church St. George, and iiij burgesses and vj wasted dwellings. One of these was taken to the use of the Abbot of Ely, and then seized, as the Hundred bear witness, but Roger says that he holds it of the king. To the above-mentioned church belongs j acre of land. Total value x$^{s.}$ The king hath the custom.

LANDS OF RANULF BROTHER OF ILGERUS COLENESSE.

In Thurleston. Durandus a free-man of the before-mentioned Rob. Malet, held in K. Ed. time j car. of land and lxxx acres, now Ivo holds it of Ranulf brother of Ilgerus for manor. Always vij villains and iij borderers. Then in demense ij ploughs, now j, always iij ploughs of the tenants, iiij acres of pasture and j mill, and iij bond-women and l sheep, j church of xij acres and is worth xij$^{d.}$ Then worth iiij$^{s.}$ now lx$^{s.}$ and contains in length vj quarenta and iij in breadth, and x$^{d.}$ for tax; and in Ipswich j empty house and other dwellings, and pays viij$^{d.}$

LANDS OF WALTER THE DEACON.

Half Hundred of Ipswich. In the town Walter hath v houses and iij empty dwellings, which the queen held in K. Ed. time and pay custom and are worth xx$^{d.}$

LAND OF NORMAN THE SHERIFF.

Half Hundred of Ipswich. In the town Norman hath ij burgesses, one in bond against the same and the other for debt. But the king hath his customs.

THE LAND OF VAVASOR.

In Thurlestone Rolf held in K. Ed. time now Aluric his son a burgess of Ipswich xij acres and is worth ij$^{s.}$ The king and earl sac. and of this he was seized, then he forfeited it to the king and earl. The same Aluric held the church of St. Julian in the town of Ipswich, xx acres of land, and was worth xl$^{d.}$, and from this church it was seized by the king and earl.

From this invaluable record we obtain a certain glimpse of the great devastation committed by the Normans upon the town of Gippeswic, in their various ravages. In the time of the survey 328 wasted dwellings stood in the place, the owners of, or dwellers in which, had contributed to Edward. Five hundred and thirty eight burgesses also paid tax in the time of the Confessor, while in the days of the Conqueror, only one hundred and ten existed able to contribute to the king's wants, and one hundred poor burgesses. The mint, as a matter of course, fell into comparative disuse, and the king's tax on the moneyers was but imperfectly paid.

The medieval history of Ipswich is full of local interest. Separated from other great localities of the

kingdom as are the Eastern Counties, the events in this period with which the town became connected, are for the most part such, as are distinct from those historically affecting other places. In Suffolk and Norfolk monachism was planted at an early era, and this locality became over-run with ecclesiastical establishments in a remarkable degree. It is calculated that at the time of the Dissolution, Norfolk and Suffolk alone contained one ninth of all the monasteries of the kingdom. In Ipswich were two priories, those of the Trinity, and St. Peter and St. Paul; friaries of the Grey, Black, and White Friars; the hospitals of St. James, St. Leonard, St. Mary Magdalen; and a college of Secular Canons founded by Cardinal Wolsey, upon the possessions of the last-mentioned priory.

Ipswich was also closely connected with the early commerce of the kingdom, and indeed can be traced as a place of outward trade to the Norman period.

Ipswich appears to have flourished in early times from two sources—Monasticism and Commerce, and during their influence the character of the town became sensibly impressed by each. At first a commercial character prevailed, but the rise of monachism cast the fetters of ecclesiastical inertness over the community. During this period, trade, though in its decadence, struggled for its old freedom and power, though involved within the meshes of the cloister.

At the dissolution of monasteries, Ipswich slowly re-acquired her ancient character for commerce. The merchants of the town became enriched, and to their taste and spirit is owing the erection of those domestic structures upon the line of the old quay or "kay," which have just been described, and which called forth remarks from old Fuller, given in a previous page.

The following are the charters on which the liberties of the town are founded:—

The Charter of	John, given	1199
,, ,,	Henry III	1256
,, ,,	Edward I	1291
,, ,,	Edward II	1317
,, ,,	Edward III.....	1339
,, ,,	Richard II	1378
,, ,,	Edward IV.....	1464
,, ,,	Henry VIII	1518
,, ,,	Edward VI	1548
,, ,,	Elizabeth.....	1560
,, ,,	Ditto (to the School) ..	1565
,, ,,	Ditto (Christ's Hospital)	1571
,, ,,	James I	1605
,, ,,	Charles I.....	1634
,, ,,	Charles II	1665
,, ,,	Charles II	1685

A proclamation in Council, Oct. 17, 1688, 4th James II, for restoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, and franchises, which may be styled a charter not only to this town but many others. The last charter of Charles II containing a power of removing all officers at the will of the monarch, was by this proclamation in a manner repealed.

The dates of the establishments of the various monastical and early eleemosynary institutions are found to be—

The Priory of Christ Church, upon the site of Christ Church park, previously to 1177.

The Priory of St. Peter and Paul, some years later.

The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen in St. Helen's, before the year 1199.

The Hospital of St. James, in the same parish, about the same period.

The Black Friars, the remains of which were afterwards rebuilt as Christ's Hospital, and also used as a Grammar School, in 1245.

The White Friars, anciently standing on lands between Queen Street and St. Stephen's Lane, in 1279.

The Grey Friars, occupying lands now known as Bird's and the Priory Gardens, in the parish of St. Nicholas, in 1290.

The Hospital of St. Leonard, an ancient Spital, the building connected with which was enlarged for the school held at Christ's Hospital—date of foundation not known.

To these must be added the College of Secular Canons, dedicated to the Virgin, founded by Cardinal Wolsey, upon the ruins of the priory of St. Peter and St. Paul, in 1527, and which existed but a brief space.

These monasteries numbered in their fraternities several eminent men. The art of printing was also early known, a press being established in the *town* in 1511. It is believed that the monastery of Grey Friars itself possessed a printing press, and that notices of indulgencies and other documents connected with religion, were printed within it before 1500.

Fraternities of merchants and traders, called Guilds, for the protection of various callings against "forrainers" or alien persons, existed in Ipswich, as they appear to have done in other large trading communities. The pageants connected with the day on which these Guilds assembled—the feast of Corpus Christi—were objects of peculiar attention in the medieval ages. Ipswich possessed a Guild of Corpus Christi, important and extensive in its nature, abundant particulars connected with which are to be found in the great Court Books of the town, and appear in the following pages.

The ancient entries connected with these Guilds are of curious importance, as shewing the wavering and uncertain condition of the Roman Catholic church. They serve indeed as barometers of the ecclesiastical fortunes of the papacy from early times to that of Elizabeth.

Several churches and chapels, the names only of which have come down to us, were once extant in Ipswich, adding other evidence of its former sacerdotal character.

St. Edmund a Pountney
The Church of Osterbolt
St. Mildred
The Chapel of our Lady
St. George's Chapel
Trinity Church.

Little beyond traditional knowledge exists with respect to the site of the first two.

The Chapel of our Lady stood at the upper west corner of Lady Lane, St. Matthew's, and in it a miraculous image of the Virgin was enshrined, afterwards taken to London and burnt in Smithfield. No trace of the building remains.

St. George's Chapel stood in Globe Lane, upon the site of a line of houses now called St. George's terrace. In the last contest for Popish supremacy, Bilney, a protestant, afterwards burnt at the stake, was plucked, while preaching, from the pulpit of this chapel. It has been pulled down within twenty years.

Trinity Church was most probably the church belonging to Trinity Priory, though no documents state this. No remains exist.

The site of St. Mildred is occupied by the present Town Hall.

The ancient Liberties of Ipswich were extensive. The Admiralty jurisdiction included, and still includes, the whole of the Orwell, and beyond the harbour of Harwich to Polles Head, or "Polles Hinnell." The extent of jurisdiction by water was guarded with the greatest jealousy, and gave rise to many old quarrels. The inhabitants of Ipswich declared a right of jurisdiction to "Polles Hinnell," as early as the 3rd

of Richard II, 1379, and contending that they had held the district in fee farm time out of memory, though not expressed in their charter in titular words, their claim was confirmed by the king.

Polles Hinnell, or Polles Head, was a point of land jutting into the sea beyond Langar Fort, but now submerged. The water liberties of the town were in the keeping of the Corporation, who held courts on the banks of the Orwell, and also when necessary at Polles Head. All land to low-water-mark is considered by the Corporation to be under their jurisdiction, though disputed by the lords of manors on the banks of the river. The Corporation have kept up the custom of "sailing the liberties," to the present time.

The town is governed by a Corporation, which, as previously observed, dates to the early days of John, when the constitution of the body was settled by his charter. Before that era however, the town had been placed under some description of municipal government, no doubt as competent to the purposes required as that which followed it. This is evident, as town courts were established in Ipswich by Henry I, in the 1st year of his reign 1100, to be held monthly. These had been held from before the time of the Conqueror, four times each year only. It is therefore evident that the charter of John merely legalized the government of Ipswich, or re-organized on some general basis that which had been previously in existence, and in effective operation.

The chief officers of the Corporation before the change introduced by the Municipal Reform Bill, (5 & 6 Will. IV, cap. 76,) were the two bailiffs, who performed the same duties as are now filled by the mayor. The other members of the corporate body

were the high steward, 12 portmen, 24 councilmen, (who appointed a recorder,) head boroughs, a town clerk, town treasurer, coroners, 3 clavigers, marshalsea treasurer, 4 town attornies, a lecturer or preacher, 2 chamberlains, town surveyor, treasurer, guide to the hospital, water bailiff, 4 sergeants at mace, 2 beadles, a town crier, ale conner, flesh wardens, leather sealer and searcher, clerk of the market, and marsh keeper.

Most of these offices have now been abolished, or changed by the operation of the act. The mayor takes the place of the two ancient bailiffs. The company of portmen and the "twenty-four," are destroyed, and in their place sit 30 common councilmen and 10 aldermen, elected according to the provisions of the act on the first and ninth of November in each year. A high steward, town clerk, treasurer, and coroner are retained. The measure not recognizing the legality of Corporations holding possession of church patronage, the town council have abolished the office of lecturer, and sold their interest in the rectory of Gedding, a part of their possessions. The last lecturer was the Rev. W. Howorth.

A local governing body exists called the Lighting and Paving Commissioners, the name of which will afford an insight into the nature of their duties.

A Dock Commission governs the affairs of the dock.

A Court of Request takes cognizance of small debts.

As in many other ancient towns, the poor of Ipswich are the recipients of numerous charities, and as it is necessary, for the protection of the gifts themselves, that the particulars should be constantly brought before the public, as well as to do honour to those by whose bounty the indigent and unfortunate

are removed from the recurrence of chances which afflicted them in the stir and bustle of the world, a synopsis of the gifts and legacies bestowed on the town is subjoined.

Ipswich is connected with the metropolis, from which it is distant 69 miles, by a continuous railway, though vested in two companies, namely the Eastern Counties Company, which carry their line from London to Colchester, and the Eastern Union Company, who commenced their undertaking from that point to the town of Ipswich. The Eastern Union company began the formation of their line in 1845, and opened the road to the public in 1846.

The population of Ipswich at the last census stood as follows:—

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841
Clement, St.	1584	3305	4424	4779	5973
Helen, St.	327	848	781	961	1280
Lawrence, St.	469	494	503	565	570
Margaret, St.	1923	2705	3214	4300	4386
Mary, St. at the Elms	447	441	634	778	856
Mary, St. at the Quay	810	573	773	1039	1082
Mary, St. Stoke	385	568	752	789	992
Mary, St. at the Tower	688	810	914	951	967
Matthew, St.	1206	1353	1722	2204	3150
Nicholas, St.	758	832	1086	1313	1693
Peter, St.	986	1125	1567	1646	2219
Stephen, St.	422	416	561	530	509
Westerfield	187	..	..	253	324
Whitton	210	200	255	346	422
Total	10402	13670	17186	20454	24423

Ipswich returns two members to Parliament. The town has been represented since 1307.

PROBABLE COURSE
of the Wall and Ditch round
IPSWICH.

As constructed from Speeds and an original inedited Map in the British Museum.

REFERENCE

A *Tower Ditches*	G *Black Friars*
B *Lady Lane*	H *St. Stephen's Church*
C *St. Mary Elms Church*	I *St. Lawrence*
D *St. Nicholas*	K *St. Mary Tower*
E *St. Peters*	L *St. Margarets Ditches*
F *St. Mary Key*	M *Wash (Upper)*

Wat. Hagreen. del.

OF THE CASTLE OF IPSWICH, ANCIENT WALLS, DITCHES, ETC.

ALTHOUGH the historical accounts which have reached the present time relative to the castle of Ipswich, advance no earlier than the period of the Conquest, yet it is not improbable that a primitive building for the purposes of defence existed near the town in the time of the Saxons.

The wars of this people with the Danes were productive of the erection in East Anglia of several strong places of defence, and near most towns sustaining a visitation of war-like character, the Saxon kings and chieftains found opportunity of erecting a strong-hold for the protection of these places, and for the future discomfiture of invaders.

The efforts of Edward, the son of the Great Alfred, to counteract the progress of Danish invasion, were productive of the raising of several fortified positions in the neighbourhood. This brave chieftain, who fought the Danes at Maldon, in Essex, in the year A.D. 921,* erected a castle or place of strength near that town. He also performed the same service

* See page 44.

at Witham, erecting a castle between the town and the church.* Wherever indeed resources and time afforded opportunity, Edward built a castle for the protection of the places he relieved, an example followed in later years by Ulfkytel and other chieftains, who continued an opposition to the devastating progress of the Danes.

One of the chief designs of the Conqueror upon the gradual settlement of the kingdom from the anarchy which followed his own immediate conquest, was to secure his dominion by the division of large portions of the land among his followers. He also provided against any inroad, or outbreak against his rule, by the erection of places of strength throughout the realm. With this view, he built the castle of Ipswich, and appointed Roger Bigot, the powerful nobleman named in Domesday, to hold under him.

Information relative to this place of strength is meagre, and no accounts on which reliance can be placed occur until 1152, the 18th of Stephen, when the castle was held by Hugh, a descendant of Roger, in trust for the king. At this period, the war between Stephen and Henry, afterwards Henry II, was at its height, and the boldest attempts were made by the latter and his partizans to gain possession of those places of military defence, erected in the kingdom by William, and which served the two-fold purpose of strong-holds for those who held for Stephen, and of keeping from revolt the towns which by their positions they generally commanded. An attack was made upon the castle of Ipswich by the forces of Henry, and it surrendered through want of relief. Hugh Bigot however now took cause with the defeated party, and

* *Saxon Chronicle—Strutt's Saxon Antiquities—King on Ancient Castles—Verstigan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence.*

by his bravery regained possession of the town and castle, both of which he continued to hold.

Upon the death of Stephen, and on the ascension of Henry II to the throne, Hugh Bigot rendered all his castles into the hands of this monarch. The reason for the procedure is unknown, but it is not improbable that the king, finding this war-like baron disposed at all times to side with that party in a dispute most likely to accumulate the greater spoil, believed it preferable for the safety of his realm that the castles held by the Earl should be placed in the hands of the sovereign. For some reason, it is clear, Hugh Bigot was either compelled to resign these important charges, or did so by his own free-will and pleasure.

The events which followed shewed the king to have possessed an acute insight into the character of the wily baron, for in the dispute between Henry and his sons, Hugh Bigot took the side of the children against the parent, and carried on the wars in Suffolk and Norfolk with the impetuosity of a youthful warwior contending for personal advantages. At this period, he had either by stratagem, force, or gift of the king, re-possessed himself of the castles of Ipswich, Framlingham, Bungay, and Walton. So powerful an enemy, it was found required not only consummate skill but great strength to subdue. Hugh Bigot however, or rather the cause he espoused, was at length overthrown by the king at Fornham St. Genovieve, near Bury St. Edmund's, in 1173, where Blanchmains, Earl of Leicester, and a large body of Flemings brought over to sustain the cause of the princes, were completely routed. Again the castle of Ipswich passed into the hands of the king, and Henry learning from bitter experience that no dependence could be placed on the loyalty of its holders, gave

orders for its demolition with that of Walton. This brief history comprises all that is known respecting the castle of Ipswich.*

It is supposed that this place of defence stood on the hills behind Brook's hall, then a part of the ancient manor or hamlet of Brook, or Broke. These high grounds command a view of the town, and the situation was sufficiently near ancient Gippeswic, either to overawe, or if necessary receive succour from its resources. The locality is called "the Castle Hills," and this circumstance, added to the fact that occasionally, masonry and other remains are turned up by the plough, points to the conclusion that on this spot the castle of Ipswich once stood. On the road to Tuddenham, about half a mile from the town, are earth works, apparently the remains of an ancient position of defence, but as no tradition connects them either with Saxon or Norman eras, the balance of probability that the "Castle Hills" were once occupied by the Castle of Ipswich, remains to the present day uncontradicted.†

* *Dugdale's Baronage—Speed—Hearne's Curious Discourses, &c.*

† The Castle Hill, or hills, are mentioned in Bacon's MSS. On the 5th December, 21st Elizabeth—"Certaine differences depending betweene the towne and Mr. Wythypoll, if they be not determined before the 25th day of January next, it is ordered that it shall stand agreed that the *nine acres* of ground at *Castle Hill* in Stiles his occupacion shall be letten to the towne and wardens of the ffoundacion and others, wth Richd. Brittell, under such covenants as to them shall seeme requisite, provided that it be not for more time than 21 yeres from Mic. last."

Here we find the Castle Hills in possession of the town, which strengthens the evidence that this was the site of Ipswich castle. Perhaps the quantity of ground, nine acres, may be taken as the very area of the building and neighbouring circumvallations.

Mr. Wythypoll here mentioned was the owner of Christ Church, and occupied the mansion. Himself and family were continually embroiled in disputes with the Corporation, upon rents, water, tythes, pew-rents, the fairs, and other matters. Although the change of the manor of Christ Church from the priory to a layman, no doubt occasioned much misunderstanding, yet it is evident he was of a decidedly litigious temperament.

But although the Castle Hills should be regarded as the site of this building, the opinion of Camden is to the contrary. Speaking of Ipswich castle, Camden says—"This fort is now gone, so that there remains not so much as the ruines thereof. *Some say* it was in the parish of Westfield (Westerfield) hard by, where is to be seene the rubbish of a castle, and where old Gipwic, as men say, stood in times passed." It is evident that this writer points to the spot on the road to Tuddenham, to which reference has been made, but his information has been derived from the accounts of others, and not from personal examination. That "old Gipwic" did not stand upon the site intimated, is clear from the remains of the old fosse or ditch still existing, and encircling the upper part of the present town. No doubt remains, however, that the earth-works on the road to Tuddenham were at an early period regarded as of ancient construction, as Speed in his map,* made in 1610, gives an outline of their form.

Although seven hundred years have passed since this castle was demolished, yet from the knowledge obtained by the researches of antiquaries relative to Norman structures for military defences, not much doubt exists with respect to its characteristics. The component parts of a complete castle in the first Norman centuries, may be stated to consist of—

The barbican.
Outward vallum, or rampart.
Outward ballium, or ditch.

* "Suffolke discribed and divided into Hundreds. The situation of the fayre town of Ipswich shewed, with the armes of the most noble families that have bene either dukes, or earles, both of that countie as also of Clare." This map belongs to Speed's Theatre.

Middle vallum.

Inner ballium.

Mount, keep, and a square tower built before the entrance, containing secret passages, and other stratagetic contrivances, sally ports, &c.

Upper ballium surrounding it.

Upper and lower wards.

The keeps were ascended by an unguarded flight of steps, from which the besiegers might be precipitated, and though the plan of this part of the building was nearly the same in all, yet some of the military contrivances were effected in a different manner.*

It is not known if William surrounded the town of Ipswich with a ditch and wall after their demolition by the Danes—a plan not unusual when a castle was erected for the protection of a community. The earliest account of defences of this character surrounding the town, is found in the time of John, in the 5th year of whose reign (1203) it is stated :—"the king caused the ditche and wall to be made by the aide of the county and off the county of Cambridge."†

This entry appears to refer to the first Norman erection of these defences. They may however have existed previously, and thrown down at the same period as the demolition of the castle took place.

The wall erected by John has long since perished, but a considerable portion of the ditch is still evident,

* *Dallaway's Architecture in England.* See also *King on Castles.* These stragetic contrivances were often of the most curious description, and adopted with the primary object of deceiving the enemy. False portals were constructed, and while an attack was made upon an entrance, it was found that within it nothing but a blank wall rewarded success, and that the real entrance was at a distant point. False portals have been discovered in the castles of Colchester, Rochester, Canterbury, and other structures of defence.

† It was no unusual proceeding that distant towns and counties should be charged for aids to the defence of other places.

and gives its name to the street in which it is situated, the "Tower Ditches."*

The history of the walls and ditches of Ipswich indicate distinctly the gradual rise of the town into early and medieval importance, and the extension of its boundaries. To this day the northern side of the town has not enlarged, the ditches and the lane, or half street, behind them, being still the suburbs of the place as they were centuries since. The natural progression of Ipswich has taken a west, east, and southern direction, leaving the north almost untouched.

It is difficult, and perhaps impossible to trace with unerring certainty the course taken by the old wall and ditch, after the lapse of centuries, and since their integral decay. It seems however probable from present appearances, that after reaching the point called Major's Corner, at the end of Carr Street, the old circumvallations made a sharp angle to the right, down the Upper Wash, and so continued towards the river, where further trace is lost. The line

* Little doubt exists that at that portion of the wall anciently occupying the north side of the church of St. Mary Tower, stood a tower of defence, which gave a name to this ecclesiastical structure. This church is mentioned in the earliest records as *Sc Maria ad Turrim*, which is perhaps decisive upon the point. The line taken by the walls near this church also points to the probability that a tower stood here. An additional proof of the existence of a tower at this point may also be found in the circumstance that the church being in early periods the chief sacred structure of the town, and that within its grave-yard the Burghmote of the inhabitants was held for the transaction of public business, that a tower of defence would be erected near it, for the purposes of especial protection. We find in the second year of John, the inhabitants assembled in the churchyard to prepare themselves for the reception of the Charter given them by that monarch.* It would appear that the existence of this tower proves the town had been surrounded by a wall of defence before the period above stated, the 5th of John, when the "ditches and wall" were made by the aid of the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge.

* Ipswich Domesday Book.

may again be taken up in Tanner's Lane, from thence upwards to Lady Lane, and so joining the street retaining the name of the Ditches, in St. Matthew's parish, by continuing through the stack of houses now filling the space at the juncture of St. Matthew's Street with Globe Lane. By this course St. Margaret, St. Helen, St. Clement, and St. Matthew's churches would have stood without the walls; but it is well known that the church of St. Helen and also St. Clement were "suburbus ville Gypeswic,"* and this might also have been the case as respects the other structures† apparently excluded from defence.

The following entries connected with the wall and ditches are found in the Municipal Records. The grants of the soil to various individuals for the erection of houses, shew the growing extent and increase of the borough.

31st Edward I, (1302) "Granted to Robert Joyliffe parcell of the Town Ditches over Stabler's Grange, at the yearly rent of sixpence for ever, unless it comes to pass that the town shall be enclosed with a stone wall."

Here we arrive at a date when the wall was either down or in a dilapidated condition.

13th Henry VI, (1434) at a great court held Monday after Hilary, "Common soile, parcell of the Towne Ditche at the Barr Gates, in length 44 foote and 36 foote in breadthe is granted to John Frenche at 6*d.* rent."

19th Edward IV, (1479) "Granted to Peter Joy, parcell of the common soile by way nigh the Town Ditche over against the way from the *round crosse* to Blackfriars Bridge, 298 foote ——."

* *Jermyn's MSS.*

† That the ditch and wall followed the course of Lady Lane is evident, for in 34th Eliz. "the wall ditches" against the Almshouses in Lady Lane were then "dooled out."

2nd Henry VII, (1486) "Granted to Margarett Kettle common soile 260 feet long, and in bredth between her house north, and the topp of the town wall south, as shall be sett out by meete and bound at 18*d.* rent."

6th Henry VII, (1490) "Granted to Thomas Gardener, in fee of the town ditche in Mary Elmes upon the *south* of the way leading from the *church* to Horsewade mill, 196½ foot of ground in length and westward 221 foot, and in breadth northward 62½ foot, and southward 111 foot, at 12*d.* rent, and to repaire the water lane to the river for ever."

6th Henry VIII, (1514) "Thomas Manser shall make up the town ditches by him demolished, and amend the water-course at the Wodhouse, and shall not suffer his pond any longer to runne to the annoyance of the people."

20th Henry VIII, (1528) "Thomas Portwich hath granted unto him the profitt and easement of the *town wall* over against his tenement from the *Barre* to the end of the Ditche, and to conduct the water from the brooke running by the saide wall ditche into his tenement, at 9*d.* rent."

30th Henry VIII, (1538) "Robert Williams shall have the feeding of the common ditche from the old Barr Gates to John Harrisson's house, provided that he cleanse the way along the said dikes next to the town of all filth, and that he shall not lay any mucke there during his terme."

1st Mary, (1553) "Munday 29th Ffebruary. The town walls and ditches shall be cast up and repaired by the inhabitants that have any ground adjoyning to the wall ditches before Easter next, and that turnpikes shall be sett up before that time."

This entry refers to an intention to put the town in a position of defence upon the accession of Mary

to the throne. Mary had many firm adherents to her cause and person in this county. On the 31st of July, and the 1st of August, she was within the town, on her road from Framlingham castle. The whole of the eastern counties felt the greatest excitement on the death of Elizabeth, and the county of Suffolk especially.

In the 14th of Elizabeth, one Whetcroft was fined 5*s*. for a breach of the town wall.

At a Great Court held on the 15th of November, 1st James I, (1603) it was agreed—"That the wall ditches of this towne shalbe inclosed with palls and gates and styles att the endes thereof; first at the corner of Mr. Balls' ground att the corner of the house late in Inglishes occupacion; att the corner of the house in Mr. Collsons occupacion; and att the corner of the house in Robt. Pinsweynes occupacion, and that the ditches shalbe cast upp and gravelled above as shalbe thought mete by Richard Jewes, John Ward, John Sturgeon, and Richard Dawtrey; and that the chardges thereof shalbe borne as followes—firste the one halfe of the castinge upp of the same ditches and the palinge shalbe borne att the chardges of the towne; and the gate and the rest of the chardges to be borne by those that have ground on eyther side of the said ditches; and that they that have backgates to their groundes shall have keyes to suche gates as shalbe made for the inclosinge thereof."

From this period until the 12th of this king's reign, (1614) the records are silent upon the subject of the walls and ditches. In that year it is found that—"Tho. Johnson was granted parcell of the town ditche at 4*d*. rent.

On the 17th March, 16th James, (1618) it was agreed that—"The wall ditches on the south end of

PARISH.	OBSERVATIONS.
Ipswich, Town of	ropriated to Christ's Hospital.
... ...	is proportion of rent belonging to this charity. Resi-ing to corporation, or appropriated to other charities. plied to repairing highways.
... ...	n of rent of 142A. 1R. 24P. belonging to this charity. propriated to Christ's Hospital and Tyler's Charity. l. proportion, belonging to this charity, of rent of land, Tooley's Charity. Out of income, 1*l.* paid to Christ's nd two and a half chaldron of coals supplied to pri-esidue applied to poor persons in almshouses, and in ments to out-pensioners.
... ...	n Christ's Hospital, and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from Smart's
... ...	ortion of rent belonging to this charity, of land in-er head of Tooley's and Smart's Charities. Income
... ...	ayment of 11*l.* to Grammar School, and 1*l.* to parish respect of Pleasants's gift.
... ...	lied in loans, but surplus, including the exhibitions
... ...	laimed, distributed to poor at St. Lawrence church,
... ...	3*s.* 6*d.* each.
... ...	
... ...	ccupied rent free.
... ...	ion of rent belonging to this charity. The land in-
... ...	mart's Charity.
... ...	for loans included in Lending Cash Charity. 396*l.* t, payable to this town every fifth year, included in Cambridgeshire.
... ...	ncluded in General Charities for this county.
... ...	y lost or misapplied previous to 1700. No account of standing or available.
... ...	

the gaole* be referred to the Headburrows to be let as they shall think meete."

On the 29th of November, 19th James (1621)—"Mr. Martin had a new grant of the wall and ditche on the back side of his house in St. Margarett's parish."

On the same date it was ordered—"That the wall ditche shall be repaired by the treasurer according to the Headburrows direction."

On the 23rd November, 18th Charles I, (1642) it was ordered that—"Mr. Joh. Blomfield and Mr. Sam. Dunkin shall ride to Colchester and procure an ingeneere to comme over to advise about the fortifying of the towne."

This had reference to the walls, and those defences appear to have been repaired. On the 24th July, 19th Charles, it was agreed at the assembly that—"Breastworks and fortifficacions shall be made about the towne, suche as shall be advised by Mr. Bayliffs, and the deputy lieutenants, and suche as they shall call to their assistance; and the treasurer shall prowid immediately 50 or 60 broadbarrowes, or handbarrowes and baskets."

On the 9th of October, 19th Charles, the assembly issued orders — "For closing up the passages over the town walls; and for watche, that the petty constables shall watche by night and the headburrowes shall watche by day."

A large number of entries of the same character are found in the great court books. By these the walls and ditch appear well kept until a comparatively

* The ancient West Gate, which stood across St. Matthew's street, was made a gaol in the time of Henry VI. This gate was standing in 1769. Grose gives a view from a drawing made in that year. See *Old Localities*.

late period, when the town books become silent upon the subject. Daily obliterated by constant grants to the inhabitants of common soil for the erection of houses, the very traces of the ancient circumvallations have now become nearly extinct. The etching annexed, marks as far as can be followed, with strong probability of accuracy, the line taken by the old ditches and wall. Had not however these ancient defences of the town existed distinctly at the north side down to a modern period, the course taken by them would be much more conjectural than at present it is found to be.

SEALS OF THE CORPORATION OF IPSWICH.

ANCIENT INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN.

THE proceedings which followed the reception of the charter of John are upon record, and exhibit a curious and interesting spectacle of the ancient burgesses of a town assembling themselves together for the purpose of solemnly recognizing the charter of their privileges, and erecting themselves into an incorporated community—an incorporation which has continued through the mutations and changes of time, now upwards of 600 years.

The charter given by John is as follows:—

THE CHARTER OF KING JOHN.

"John, by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou: To all, &c. Know ye, that we have granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed, to the Burgesses of Ipswich, our Borough of Ipswich, with all its appurtenances and liberties, and all its free customs, to be holden of us and our heirs, to them and their heirs hereditary: paying by the year the right and accustomed farm at our Exchequer, at Michaelmas term by the hand of the Provost of Ips-

wich; and one hundred shillings sterling over and above what they used to pay at the said term.

"We have also granted to them, that all the Burgesses of Ipswich may be quit of Toll, Portage, Stallage, Passage, Pontage, and all other customs throughout our land and sea ports.

"We have also granted to them, that none of them shall plead out of the Borough of Ipswich, of any plea, other than the pleas of Foreign tenures, excepting our own officers. And that they may have a Merchant's Guild, and their own house; and that no one be lodged, nor shall any body take any thing by force within the borough, and that they may have their own lands and their own pledges, and all their own just dues from whomsoever they be owing. And as to their tenures and lands that are within the borough, right shall be done them according to the customs of the borough of Ipswich and our free boroughs. And as to the dues that were —— at Ipswich, and the pledges then made, the pleas may be holden at Ipswich. And that no one of them shall have judgment against him for money, but according to the law of our free borough.

"We forbid also, that no man throughout our land take from the men of Ipswich any Toll or Stallage, or any other Custom, on the forfeiture of ten pounds.

"Wherefore, we will and firmly command, that the said Burgesses will have and hold in peace, all the aforesaid liberties and free customs, as other free Burgesses, of our free Boroughs of England have had, or have them; saving in all things our citizens of London and their liberties and free customs.

"Moreover, we will and grant, that our said Burgesses, by our Common Council of their town, may choose two of the more lawful and discreet men of their town, and present them to our chief justice at the Exchequer, who may well and faithfully keep the

government of the Borough of Ipswich aforesaid; and may not be removed as long as they behave well in that Bailiffwick, except by the Common Council of the aforesaid Burgesses.

"We will also, that in the same Borough, four of the more lawful and discreet men of the borough, be chosen by the Common Council, out of the burgesses aforesaid, to keep the Pleas of the Crown, and other things that appertain to us and our crown, on the same borough, and to see that the Governors of that borough behave justly and lawfully towards the poor, as well as the rich.

"Witness, &c. Given at Gold Cliff, 25th May, in the first year of our reign." (1199.)

The proceedings taken to carry out this Charter were preserved in a Roll, called the Bailiffs' Roll, and from thence transferred to the Domesday Book of the town, as follows:—

"This is the Transcript of the Roll made in Ipswich, in the second year of the reign of king John, upon the state and government of the same town as is contained in the said Roll, which is in the Common Chest of the town aforesaid, and which thus begins:—

"In the Roll concerning the manner and form of electing Bailiffs and Coroners in Ipswich according to the form of the Charter of the Lord King John, that is to say,—On Thursday, next after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the whole town of the Borough of Ipswich assembled in the burial-ground of St. Mary at the Tower, to elect two Bailiffs and four Coroners in the same borough, according to the form of the Charter of the same Lord the King; which the same King hath lately granted to the Burgesses of the borough aforesaid.* At which day the

* The Charter was given in May. These proceedings took place in June.

same Burgesses with unanimous assent and consent have elected two good and lawful men of the said town, that is to say, John Fitz Norman and William de Belines, who have been sworn to keep the Bailiwick of the aforesaid borough, and that they will well and faithfully treat as well the poor as the rich.

"Also on the same day they have unanimously elected four Coroners, that is to say, John Fitz Norman, William de Belines, Philip de Porta, and Roger Lew, who have been sworn to hold the pleas of the crown, and to do other the things which pertain to the crown in the same borough, and to see that the aforesaid Bailiffs justly and lawfully treat as well the poor as the rich.

"Also on the same day it is ordained by the Common Council of the same town that hereafter there shall be in the said borough twelve Capital Portmen sworn, in manner as they are in other free boroughs of England, and that they shall have full power for themselves and the whole town to govern and maintain the aforesaid borough, and all the liberties of the same borough; and to render the judgments of the town, and also to ordain and do all things in the same borough which ought to be done for the state and honour of the town aforesaid; and hereupon it is directed by the Bailiffs and Coroners aforesaid, that the whole town assemble in the burial-ground aforesaid on Sunday after the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul next coming, to elect the aforesaid twelve Capital Portmen according to the form of the same ordinance. On Sunday* next after the Feast of the

* Much of the public business of early times was transacted on Sundays, and in church-yards, in order that by the people flocking to church on that day, witnesses to the proceedings might be numerous. Charters for the bestowal of land were often witnessed in the church-porch, rents paid, &c. In Drury's History of Hawstead, may by found several curious instances of the custom.

Apostles Peter and Paul, in the year abovesaid, the whole town of Ipswich have assembled before the Bailiffs and Coroners of the same town to elect twelve Capital Portmen in the same town as was before ordained, and the aforesaid Bailiffs and Coroners by the assent of the town do elect four good and lawful men of every parish of the said town, who are sworn to elect twelve Capital Portmen, of the most fit, discreet, and wealthy of the said town to ordain for the state of the town as is aforesaid; and the said [persons so] sworn from the parishes come and elect for themselves and the whole town, these twelve names underwritten, that is to say, John Fitz Norman, William de Belines, Philip de Porta, Roger Lew, Peter Everard, William Goscalk, Amisius Bolle, John de St. George, John de Mayster, Saher Fitz Thurston, Robert Panys, and Andrew Peper, who are sworn before the whole town aforesaid, that well and faithfully they will keep and govern the borough of Ipswich, and according to their power will maintain all the liberties which have now of late been granted to the Burgesses of the same borough by the Charter of the said Lord the King; and also all other the liberties and free customs of the town aforesaid, and will justly render the judgments of the courts of the same town, without having respect to any manner of person. And moreover we will ordain and do all other things which are needful to be done for the state and honour of the said town, and justly and lawfully will treat as well the poor as the rich.

"The same day, as soon as the aforesaid twelve Capital Portmen were sworn in form aforesaid, they caused the whole of the aforesaid townsfolk to stretch their hands towards the Book,* and with one voice

* The Gospels.

solemnly to swear, that from henceforth they would be obedient, intending, consulting, and aiding to their Bailiffs, Coroners, and all and every aforesaid Capital Portmen, with their persons and chattels to preserve and maintain the aforesaid town of Ipswich, and the new Charter aforesaid, and the honour and all the liberties and free customs of the same town in all places against [all persons] whomsoever; saving nevertheless to the Lord the King and his royal prerogative, all things according to their power in manner as justly and reasonably they ought to do.

"The same day it is agreed that the said new Charter of the Lord the King shall be delivered to two good and lawful men of the said town to be safely kept, viz. John Fitz Norman and Philip de Porta, who have been sworn faithfully to keep the said Charter, and to deliver it to the said town when it shall be necessary, and when they shall be warned and required so to do on behalf of the said town.

"And inasmuch as divers things for the state and honour of the town ought to be ordained and done, which cannot conveniently be done at this day, it is unanimously agreed that the Bailiffs, Coroners, and all the Capital Portmen aforesaid shall come and assemble together here on Thursday next, after the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr next ensuing, to ordain and do those things which shall be meet to be ordained and done for the state and honour of the town aforesaid.

"On Thursday next after the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the year abovesaid, the Bailiffs and Coroners and the rest of the Capital Portmen assembled together to confer and ordain concerning the state of the town of Ipswich.

"First, they ordain, that all the customs of the said borough shall be collected by the hands of the

Bailiffs, and four good and lawful men of the same borough; and that they shall yearly pay at the Exchequer of the Lord the King the right and accustomed ferm for the said town.

"Also they ordain, that in the said borough there shall be two Bedells, sworn to execute attachments, distresses, and all other precepts of the Bailiffs, Coroners, and Capital Portmen, which pertain to be executed in the said borough. And that one of the said Bedells shall be the keeper of all prisoners, who shall be attached by the said Bedells; and that such keeper shall find security safely to keep all his prisoners, &c.

"Also they ordain that by the Common Council of the town there shall be made one Common Seal in the said borough, to serve in weighty businesses touching the commonalty of the said borough, and to sign letters thereupon for the testifying the truth for all and singular the Burgesses of the said borough, and to do all other things which ought to be done for the common honour and utility of the town aforesaid; and that such common seal shall be kept by three or four good and lawful men of the aforesaid borough thereunto sworn before the Commonalty of the same borough.

"Also they ordain, that in the said borough there shall be elected by the Common Council of the town, one good, lawful, and fit man, who shall be Alderman of the Guild Merchant in the same borough; and that four good and lawful men of the same borough shall be associated with him, and that the Alderman and such four shall be sworn that well and faithfully they will maintain the aforesaid Guild, and all things which to the Guild pertain.

"Also they ordain that the aforesaid new Charter shall be sent into the full county court of Suffolk, and

to Norwich into the full county court of Norfolk; and that the same Charter shall be openly read in the same county courts in order that the liberties in the said Charter contained may be publickly known and published in all places of both counties.

"Also it is ordained, that no Burgess of the said town shall be quit of custom in the same town for his merchandizes, that is, if he be a merchant, unless he be at lot and scot in the common aids and businesses of the town.

"On Sunday next after the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year aforesaid, the Commonalty of the town of Ipswich have assembled before the Bailiffs and Coroners, and the rest of the Capital Portmen of the same town, to hear all the ordinances aforesaid, which have been read before the people of the town in the burial-ground of St. Mary at the Tower; and to which ordinances after being there read, all the aforesaid Commonalty have unanimously consented. And they have afterwards elected their Bailiffs, who shall continue for one whole year next ensuing, that is, John Fitz Norman and William de Belines. The same day they elect four men to collect the customs of the town in conjunction with the said Bailiffs, that is, Peter Peper, Norman Halynoth, Clement de Palmere, and Leman de Pont. Also the same day they elect two Bedells, that is, John Prikehert and John Hane, who are sworn that well and faithfully they will execute attachments, distresses, and all precepts of the Bailiffs, Coroners, and Portmen, and all things which to their office pertain. And the aforesaid John Prikehert hath been elected to keep the prisons of the town; and he hath found security to answer for the escapes of prisoners, if they happen, (which God forbid) that is, Edmund Marsh, Peter Peper, John Hane, and Thomas de Honere.

And forasmuch as divers things cannot be expedited at this day, it is unanimously agreed that the Bailiffs and all the Commonalty shall be here on Thursday next after the Feast of St. Fidis next ensuing, for the electing of an Alderman, and to do other things which cannot now be done. And the Bailiffs are directed, that in the mean time they shall cause a common seal to be made, according as was above ordained.

"On Thursday next after the Feast of St. Fidis in the year aforesaid, the Bailiffs, Coroners, and the rest of the Capital Portmen, and all the Commonalty assemble together in the church-yard of St. Mary at the Tower. And the Bailiffs there shew the common seal of the town, which hath been newly made. And then three of the most loyal and wealthy of the said borough are elected to keep such seal, viz. John Fitz Norman, William de Belines, and Philip de Porta, who are sworn before the Commonalty, that well and faithfully they will keep the said seal; and that they will seal no letter or other instrument with the same seal, unless they be for the common honour and utility of the town, or of the Burgesses thereof, and this by the assent of their peers. And moreover it is unanimously agreed that the Common Charter of the town shall remain in their custody. The same day is elected by the Common Council of the town one Alderman, viz. William Gossecalk; and four are elected who are associated with him, that is, Peter Everard, John le Mayster, Roger Lew, and John de Saint George, who together with the Alderman are sworn, that well and faithfully they will govern the Guild Merchant in the borough of Ipswich, and all the articles to the Guild pertaining, and that well and lawfully they will treat all the Guild brethren. And afterwards it is declared by the Alderman and his four associates, in the presence of the people of the town,

that all who are of the liberty of the town shall come before the Alderman and his associates at a certain day, when and where they will make known to them, in order to form themselves into a Guild and to unite their house to the said Guild.

"The same day it is granted by all the Commonalty at the request of the aforesaid twelve Capital Portmen, that for the labour which they shall bestow in behalf of the said Commonalty, they shall have the Odenholm Meadow for the support of their horses.

"Also it is ordained and agreed by the whole Commonalty, that the laws and free customs of the aforesaid town shall be put in a certain Roll, which shall be called "the Domesday." And that such Roll shall always remain in the custody of the Bailiffs of the said town for the time being, that they may know and understand in what manner they ought to act in their office. And that all the statutes of the Guild Merchant shall be put in a certain other Roll, in manner as are elsewhere used in cities and boroughs where there is a Guild Merchant. And that the Alderman shall always have such Roll in his possession, that he may know how he ought to act in his office."

The imaginations of some of the readers of the "Memorials of Ipswich," may haply fly back to these ancient times, and picture to themselves the first gatherings of the "men of Gippeswic" within the church-yard of St. Mary Tower—the church not as now displaying wide and ugly windows of a style without taste, and a brick tower covered with plaster and stucco, but *Sc. Maria ad Turrim*, existing as in the time of the Conqueror's survey—its south and perhaps north door-ways spanned by rounded arches covered with chevron or billet-headed mouldings, and perhaps a rude sculpture of God the

Father within the half-circle — the capitals of the pillars displaying human heads, and the stems carrying down the design of the arch to the dwarfish plinths upon the ground. Round-headed windows, and a half-circular or apsidal termination to the eastern end completed the exterior. Near such a building, in a wide space where coffin-shaped stones or stunted crosses, stood marking the graves of the departed great ones of the town, gathered the whole inhabitants of the place, and did those things which the Charter of their privileges enjoined them to do— privileges which well-preserved, saved as in an ark, here as elsewhere, the liberties of a people from the spoil and oppression of the iron rule of a feudal system.

The following brief abstract of other Charters granted to the town will afford an insight into the principal liberties conferred by succeeding sovereigns.

1256. 15th April, 41st Henry III, (Westminster.) Confirms the return of all writs relating to the town and liberties.

The Bailiffs may answer at the Exchequer personally, concerning dues, so that no Sheriff shall interfere or make distress in the town except the Bailiffs default.

The Burgesses may choose and create Coroners.

Merchants allowed to bring and sell goods in the town without hindrance of any one, (fish particularly mentioned, which shews the antiquity of a fish market.)

1291. 23rd June, 20th Edward I, (Berwick on Tweed.) This charter was given on the restoration of the town to the Burgesses, after it had been taken into the hands of the king.

Restores the borough upon the payment of sixty

pounds annually at the Exchequer, during the king's pleasure. One moiety to be paid on the feast of St. Michael and the other at Easter.

1317. 20th May, 11th Edward II, (Westminster.) Confirms the restoration of the borough. This charter then proceeds, that "moreover, being willing to confer a more ample favour upon the said Burgesses," the king wills and grants that no Burgess shall be forced to plead or be impleaded out of the borough.

Juries and inquisitions concerning tenures beyond the borough, or offences, shall not be made by foreigners, but by Burgesses, unless the matter in question shall concern the king, or the community of the town.

Bailiffs in future appointed, discharged of obligation to make presentment at the Exchequer.

Hitherto four Coroners elected, but by this charter only two.

The Bailiffs to have charge of all prisoners indicted or arrested in the borough, and to be imprisoned only in the prison of the borough, unless removed by the writ of the king, or indicted for offences against the laws of the forest.

The Burgesses to be exempt from all murage, picage, anchorage, strandage, and segeage throughout the kingdom.

1339. On the 1st of July of this year, the 13th of Edward III, the king being then at Walton, near the town, confirms all rights and privileges contained in former charters.

1378. 26th February, 2nd Richard II, (Westminster.) Confirms preceding charters.

Dissentions having arisen upon the doubtfulness of the grant of cognizance of Pleas, the king, with the assent of his council, and for the sum of 40*s.* paid to the Hanaper, confirms the cognizance.

1379. 26th Feb. 3rd Richard II, (Westminster.) Confirmation of previous charters.

1464. 18th March, 3rd Edward IV. The Burgesses being burthened by the payment of the fee-farm, the king makes the borough a free borough corporate in deed and in name, under the title of the Bailives, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the town fo Ipswich. By this name they may be impleaded and implead.

A common seal allowed, to be kept for the business of the town.

Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty to be capable in law of purchasing lands in fee and perpetuity to themselves and successors.

Two Bailiffs to be elected yearly on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, (Sept. 8,) in the Guildhall, to exercise the office of Bailiff for one year from thence next following.

The Bailiffs to have power to nominate out of the twelve Portmen, four other Burgesses, to be keepers of the peace, or justices, to determine all felonies, riots, routs, conspiracies, &c. Also to hear and determine upon all articles of statutes concerning labourers and artificers, and this beyond the liberties of the town, in the county of Suffolk.

No other justices to have power over offences committed within the borough.

Fines and forfeitures, amercements, deperdits, &c. due to the Bailiffs, whether amerced in Chancery, Bench, Pleas, Exchequer, Household, &c. to be taken by the Bailiffs and applied in payment of the fee-farm and in aid "of the heavy burdens that every day are coming upon and oppressing the said town." This right to extend to waifs, strays, and mayners; (property found upon thieves taken in hue and cry,) also to goods and chattels held by convicted felons,

felo-de-se, outlaw, traitor, and persons flying from justice.

To have assize, assay, emendation and regulation of bread, wine, ale, and all other victuals, measures, and weights, and all other things appertaining to the office of the Clerk of the Market.

Grants "all and singular the things which belong to our Admiral and Escheator," to the exclusion of other officers in the county of Suffolk, nor shall these last intrude themselves in any way.

No Bailiff or any of the Commonalty residing in the borough shall be put or empannelled against his will in any assize, jury, inquisition, attaint, &c. nor be made assessor, taxer, or collector of tenths, fifteenths, or other subsidies granted to the king; or collection of the reasonable aid to be made at the knighting of the eldest son of the king, or marriage of the king's eldest daughter. Persons refusing to serve these offices, shall not in any manner incur contempt, penalty, or forfeiture.

1511. 20th January, 3rd Henry VIII, (Westminster.) Confirmation by inspeximus of previous charters.

1511. 25th November, 3rd Henry VIII, (Westminster.) Licence to purchase lands to the value of £50 per annum.

1512. 12th March, 4th Henry VIII, (Westminster.) By inspeximus, confirms the office of Admiral and all former grants.

1518. 3rd March, 10th Henry VIII, (Hampton Court.) Franchise of the water liberty to extend from the port of Ipswich unto Polles Hinnell, alias Polles Head, and also over the land and soil sometimes overflowed and covered with water, by the ebbing and flowing of the sea. This is a confirmation in consequence of ancient dispute.

The office of Admiral set out. This officer to perform all things appertaining to the office, as well upon the sea and coasts of the sea, water, course of water, as elsewhere within the liberty, franchise, and precinct of the borough. Nor shall the Admiral of the king interfere.

Towards the relief and increase of the town, "which it is said, is in divers ways impoverished, and in aid of the payment of the farm of £60 yearly," the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty shall have wreck of the sea, wrecks, fletson, and jetson, and all deodands.

No alien, foreigner, or any person not of the liberty, freeman, admitted Burgess of the town, and contribute to its burdens, shall buy any wares or merchandize of any other foreigner or alien, to sell again to any person in gross or retail, nor otherwise negociate such goods, except for the use of his household, under penalty of forfeiture. The forfeits to go to the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty.

Ordinances and usages then extant, if difficult or defective, the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty at their sound discretion, to provide and establish a proper remedy.

1548. 8th July, 1st Edward VI. The charters of Henry VIII confirmed by inspeximus.

1560. 23rd Sept. 2nd Elizabeth. Confirmation of charters given by Edward VI.

1565. 8th Elizabeth, gave a charter to the Grammar School of the town, "founded by our most dear father Henry VIII, late king of England."

1571. 14th Elizabeth, gave a charter to Christ's Hospital, upon the humble petition of the Corporation.

1605. 2nd James I, (Westminster.) Confirmation of previous charter.

1634. 11th March, 10th Charles I, (Westminster.) Confirmation.

1665. 11th February, 6th Charles II. A new charter was granted for the purpose of ratifying to the body corporate, the ancient liberties, privileges, and customs of the town, and granting such other liberties and privileges as should seem most expedient for the public good, and the better government of the borough.

The High Steward, (James Earl of Suffolk,) the Bailiffs, (Robert Sparrowe and John Wright,) the twelve Portmen, and twenty-four Chief Constables, (the Four-and-Twenty,) and the two Coroners, confirmed in their offices for such times, as such officers have been accustomed in times past.

Elections to fill up Portmen to be made by the residue of the body.

Vacancies in the Twenty-four to be filled up at the choice of the remainder.

The Bailiffs of the borough, and those only, to have power to remove the Recorder in case of misbehaviour, otherwise he holds his office for life.

The Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty to have power to elect new Recorders.

Recorder to have power to appoint an assistant or deputy.

Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty to have power to elect a Common Clerk, to continue in his office during his natural life, unless guilty of misbehaviour; and also to expel.

Individuals chosen Bailiffs, Portmen, Coroners, Chief Constables, Petty Constables, refusing to serve, to be fined by act of Common Council.

Nomination of Justices. The fair or market of Holy Rood confirmed, and to be held for three days, beginning on the 14th of September, as heretofore accustomed.

Court of Pie-powder to be constituted at fairs; and all dues and amercements to be the property of the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty.

No fresh fairs to be established by the Bailiffs, without special license of the king, his heirs, or successors.

Bailiffs, Recorder, Aldermen, Capital Burgesses, Common Clerk, and all other officers or servants of the town of Ipswich, to take the oath commonly called the oath of obedience, and the oath of supremacy.

Towards the conclusion of the reign of Charles II, the corporation were intimidated to surrender their charters, franchises, and privileges to the king, by formal deed under their common seal. They were then newly incorporated by the charter of Charles II, 1685.

This charter commences as follows:—"Know ye, that we graciously desiring the advancement of our town of Ipswich, in our county of Suffolk, and willing that for the future, there may and shall be within the said borough, one certain and indubitable method for keeping the peace, and for the good regimen and government of the people there, and that the town or borough aforesaid, hereafter for ever may be and remain a borough of peace and quiet for the reward of the good, and for the terror of evil men, and that our peace and other acts of justice there may be preserved and kept without further delay; and hoping, that if the Burgesses and inhabitants of the town or borough aforesaid, and their successors, might by our grant, enjoy more ample liberties, profits, and privileges;—then, they may perceive themselves to be more especially, and more strongly obliged to perform the service due to us, our heirs, and successors;—of our especial favour, certain knowledge, and mere motion, and

upon the humble petition of the Bailiffs, Burgesses and Commonalty, We have willed, constituted, declared, ordained, and granted, &c. &c."

Title to be the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the borough of Ipswich.

Capable in law to purchase and possess lands, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises, &c. Also to give and grant manors.

By this name to implead and to be impleaded.

Two Bailiffs, and these to be chosen out of the Portmen, to continue in office to the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel in every year, and till two others be admitted and sworn.

Twelve Portmen to be chosen to continue in their office as long as they behave well.

Eighteen Chief Constables, the ten senior to be called Headboroughs.

Recorder and Town Clerk.

Two Coroners.

Sir H. Felton, bart. and John Burough, gent. to be the two first Bailiffs.

Christopher Milton, esq. to be appointed Recorder.

The Bailiffs, Portmen, and Chief Constables, or the major part of them, to assemble on the 8th day of September in every year, one of the Bailiffs to be one, and choose two honest men to be Bailiffs out of the Portmen; which men so elected and nominated, shall, on and upon the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel in every year, after such election and nomination, take their corporal oaths, &c.

Elections of Recorder, Common Clerk, Coroners, and all other officers of the town and borough aforesaid to be henceforth made by the Common Council of the borough.

The Common Council to consist of the Bailiffs,

Portmen, and Chief Constables for the time being, or greater part of them.

Bailiff, Portman, Chief Constable, or Coroner, refusing or neglecting to serve office, and take oath, to be fined a reasonable fine.

Power reserved to the king, his heirs, and successors, to remove, under an order of Privy Council, the Bailiffs, Portmen, Chief Constables, Recorder, Deputy Recorder, Common Clerk, or Coroner, or any one or more of them; such persons, without any other process and to all intents whatsoever, by such order of Privy Council to be removed, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provision for putting into execution the statute of 13th Elizabeth, entituled "An Act for Paving the Town of Ipswich."

Common Council of the town to make and admit Freemen, but such only as are admitted and conform to the Church of England, to have received the Holy Eucharist within six months next before, and to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

This charter continued in force until the 17th of October, 1688, when an order in council and proclamation was issued, by which the rights and liberties of the Corporation were restored. The obnoxious statute of Charles took the power of choice from the Bailiffs and Burgesses at large, by the erection of a limited Town Council, and as noticed in the abstract, gave full power to the king and his heirs to remove any or all the officers of the Corporation.

By the 5th and 6th William IV, cap. 76,* entituled "An Act to Provide for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales," most of the ancient charters given to Corporations were repealed, though many restrictions acknowledged.

* Received the Royal Assent 9th September, 1835.

By this act the boundaries of boroughs were laid down by 2nd and 3rd Will. IV, c. 64, so far as affected the election of Members of Parliament.

Thus far, the charters under which the men of Ipswich held power, exercisable for the good of the general community—and with few exceptions it appears that although they carried their government with a lofty hand, but few recorded instances appear of either malversation of funds, or tyranny towards individuals. Fully impressed with the importance of their own liberties and laws for the good or evil of the general community, they admitted no interlopers upon their dignity, but enacted rules in their own great courts, whereby the interference of "great men" was effectually prevented. This spirit of independence evidently existed in early periods to a curious extent, and even after the feudal system had been destroyed, the appearance of large proprietors within the borough, served to rouse the old spirit of corporate dominancy. Each phase of national change served to promote opposition to new comers. Shortly after the Dissolution of Monasteries, the possessions of the Priory of Christ Church passing from the first grantee, Sir Thos. Pope, to the family of Wythypoll, and certain disputes arising relative to the power of the lord of the manor of Christ Church, in comparison with the governing body of the town, the Corporation acted in utter defiance of this powerful commoner. Mr. Wythypoll had in one instance, demanded the maces of the town to be kept at Christ Church during the period of the fair formerly held for the benefit of the Priory, as a symbol that during such continuance, the corporate body held no power over this ancient mart. The Bailiffs resisted the application, and judging from the entries in the town books, it is not clear but that they fomented a disturbance, which ended in a riot. The

maces were of course not given up to the owner of Christ Church, nor did the Bailiffs succumb to the lord of the manor. Suits followed, but the Bailiffs held fast to their own superiority, and avoided the attempts of a second power to interfere with their exclusive rights and liberties.

A more perfect view of the real position and power of an old Municipal Corporation, will be afforded by extracts from the records of the town. The following notices are taken from Bacon's MSS., the Great Court Books, and the ancient Domesday.

The oath of the ancient Bailiff.

"Ye shall swere that well and trewly ye shall serve oure Sovrayne Lord the Kyng H. that nowe is, in your offices of Baylywyke in y^e^ his town and burgh of Ippyswiche with the subburbys and pscyncte of the same. And the same town as his burgh ye shall saffely and surely maynten and kepe ageynste all men to the behoffe of our said sov̄aigne lord and his eyres. And the pfite of our said sov̄ainge lord ye shall do in all thynge that to you apperteyneth to do in the same town and burgh. And ye shall well and justeley maynteyn and kepe all the righte of our said sov̄aigne lord that to his crowne belongith in the same town and burgh. And ye shall conseale no righte of our said sov̄ainge lord ye kyng. But where as ye may know any righte of our sov̄aigne lord consealed that to his crowne apperteyneth or belongeth, be it in landys, rents, or ffraunchises, ye shall do your power to se itt repaelyd, redressed, and reformyd. And if ye cannot cause that to be don, ye shall hastily and diligently shew it to the kyng our sov̄aigne lord or to some of his honorable counsell or elles unto suche other, where as ye shall verely suppose yt the kyngs grace ys justeley srtefied thereof. And also ye shall well and trewely entreate all the kynges lyge peple

w^t^ in yo^r^ bailywyke and liberties accordyng to right lawe and good consy̆es. And that ye shall trewly execute and mynyster trewe justice to all persones as well to straungers as to p̃nces (prentices) and as well to pore as to riche in all thyngs that to your baylywycke belongeth or apperteyneth. And that ye shall wronge no man neither for favour that ye bere to the oon pte nor for malice that ye bere to the other pte. Nor ye shall not disturbe no man of his righte nor take no giffte nor reward of no man whereby the kynges grace or his ayrs might be endamaged or the righte of any other p̃son disturbed. And that ye shall make diligent serche of and upon the assizes of brede, ale, and wyne, and all other maner of aytaybles and upon all weights and mesurys in the same town, burgh, and subburbis of the same. And that ye see dewe and hastye execusyn to be doon uppon all suche defawlte as shall happen to be found in any suche causes. Thyes w^t^ all other constitucions and ordynce coteyned in the Comyn Boke of the same town called Domysday, that to the office of your baylywyke appertayneth and belongith, ye shall well and trewly obs̃ve may̆tayne and kepe to the best of your powers. So helpe you God and halydom* and by that Booke."

13th Edward II. Two Under Bailiffs were elected in this year, each of whom should have yearly a gown and five shillings and eight pence for a pair of (shoes.)

14th Edward II. Bailiffs to be elected on the Nativity of the Virgin, and to have a yearly fee of 100*s.* for their services and to have the usual customs.

4th Edward III. The Bailiffs fined for a false return.

13th Edward IV. Friday David's (day.) Whereas heretofore it hath been used that the Bailiffs, twelve Portmen, and the twenty-four Burgesses, shall alwais

* The Day of Judgment.

meet together at the holding of every Greate Court, whereupon much trouble, controversy, and strife hath risen; ffor the avoidinge thereof and for the better government sake, it is ordered that the Bayliffs for the time beinge, and twelve portmen, or seven of them shall have power and authority, with fourteen of the Twenty-four to doe and execute all things for the good of the town convenient. And to ordaine, annul, and make all suche lawes, statutes, and ordinances as shall be thought meete."

"If any person shall presente or bring any letter or message from or off two knights or two esquires to the Bayliffs and Burgesses of the town, to be Burgesses of the parliament for the town, or for the office of Common Clerke, or for the office of the Sergeant of the Mace, or Collector of the Customs of the town, suche shall thereby be disabled for ever for holding suche place or office."

Although the corporate body were indignant lest it should be thought the influence of knights and squires was exercised to their discredit, they appear ready to accept bribes of stone and mortar to absolve individuals from holding office. On the 24th Henry VII, it was agreed, "that Mr. Dandy shall be spared from being elected Bayliff ffor six yeres to comme, for that he hath given 33 *li.* and brick and lime for 2000 bricks, and laid the same uppon the Common Quay."

1st Edward VI. "At the assembly holden it is ordered that every assembly shall be called by the Bayliffs, and by their direction, warning shall be given to meete at eight of the clock in the morning, if the same be to be holden in the morning. And every Portman defaulting shall forfeit 3*s.* 4*d.* and every of the Twenty-four shall forfeit 20*d.* for eache default, if cause be not shewed to the contrary."

5th Edward VI. "Upon every Munday and Wednesday in every week between the Nativity, March, and Michaelmas, the Bayliffs for the time being and the new elect, the Clerk, Coroner, and Chamberlins for the time beinge, and suche as are new elected thereto, shall assemble by eight of the clock in the morning at the Moote Hall, and there shall be read the orders and constitutions in Domesday-booke. If any of the Bayliffs shall make default, they shall each of them forfait 10*s.* and each of the other officers defaulting shall forfait 5*s.* and thereof the Chamberlains shall render an account."

Recusants to corporate orders were punished in a very summary mode.

8th Elizabeth. "Whereas Thom. Gooding, one of the Bayliffs of this town during the time of his Baylywick this yere hath not kept hospitallity according to the accustomed order of the town, and hath nevertheless received 5 *li.* fee usually paide to every Bayliff for the purpose. And allsoe for that he hathe not given his attendance uppon his said office as he ought to have donne. Its ordered and agreed that if at the next Greate Court to be holden after the feast of St. Michaell next cumming the said Thom. Gooding shall comme into court and there without any exception openly confess his negligence and default, and then pay to the use of the towne tenne pounds for a fine, that then he shall be remitted of the towne for that offence; but if he shall neglect to do the same, its ordered the said Thom. Gooding shall pay at the same court to the towne's use 20 *li.* for a fine for such negligence."

11th October. "Whereas Thom. Gooding could not be lawfully warned to the court to p̃fome the order issued against him. Its ordered that the said

Thomas Gooding shall comme to the next Greate Court and confess his fault, and pay 10 *li.* and thereupon he shall be remitted or otherwise shall pay the fine of 20 *li.*"

At the following court:—"At this court Mr. Gooding made his submission according to the last order and found sureties, viz. John Brenn and Geoff. Couche, to pay to the Treasurer 20 *li.* And afterwards the court agreed that there should be defalked 5 *li.* out of the said summe of 20 *li.* and abated unto him the said Mr. Gooding of his fine, and one other 5 *li.* shall be paid to Mr. Gardner, his late fellow Bailiff, towards his extraordinary charge spent in housekeeping through the said Mr. Gooding's default."

12th Elizabeth. Every one of the Twelve and Twenty-four hereafter to be elected, shall have their liveries within half a year after their election, on peril of forfeiture of £5 for every of the Twelve that shall make such default; and £3 : 6 : 8 for every of the Twenty-four being defaulters. And they shall the same wear when they come to church at the feast of Easter and Pentecost, and at the Election-day, the Guild-day, and Michaelmas-day.

15th Elizabeth. Divers persons coming to the court after the hour appointed fined sixpence.

18th Elizabeth. All freemen of ability shall come to the Great Court in their gowns, or shall be excluded the house for that time from vote, and forfeit 3*s.* 4*d.* to be levied by distress.

23rd Elizabeth. "One man in eache ward made monitor to present the names of such of the freemen in their several wards, who make default of appearance at the Great Court, and these they shall present at the next Petit Court. And suche shall have for their pains two pence out of every shilling so forfeited;

and they shall be collectors of the forfeitures, and suche as refuse to pay upon complaint, shall be committed till payment; and if any of the monitors make default, he or they shall be committed, till he or they pay the forfeiture of suche defaulter or defaulters that ought to be presented."

26th Elizabeth. Monitors elected to present the names of the defaulters at the Great Court for this next year, and the forfeitures besides the monitors' part, shall go to the hospital, one for each ward as elected according to the former order.

39th Elizabeth. Absentees from Great Court, or Assembly, being notified thereof, shall forfeit as followeth—Portmen 3*s.*, the Twenty-four 2*s.*, and commoner residents 12*d.*

44th Elizabeth. "At this Court it is ordered that Richard Marten, tresurer, shall give and deliver to Robt. Palmer, beadle, of this towne, one yard and three quarters of clothe, coller azer, (colour azure,) to make him a liverie. And the said clothe to be of the prise of viij*s.* the yarde and noe more."

7th James I, 9th June. "All Freemen shall comme to the Greate Court in their gowns, uppon paine of forfeiture, according to the auncient order, of 3*s.* 4*d.*"

9th James I, 27th May. "Chr. Ward disfranchised for refusing to pay his fine of 10 *li.* for contemptuous words by him spoken of the vote of the Great Court."

"Richard Martin for neglect in his treasurer's place, and absence from the Great Court, being seene in this town abroad, is fined 20*s.*"

16th James I, 29th October. Richard Puplet for negligence in his place, fined 10 *li.*

John Blomfield, the other Chamberlain, fined 5 *li.*

Willm. Gravenor is fined 5 *li.* for saying to Mr. Bailiffs "that they should not regard their oathes,"—to be levied by the Chamberlain aforesaid.

18th James. "Suche of the Twenty-four as shall comme to the publique solemnities at the Tower Church without their gowns, shall forfeit 12*d.* for every such default. And the Twenty-four shall have keyes to keepe their seates from strangers."

18th James, 24th May. At the funeral of any of the Twelve, or Twenty-four, all the company of the Twelve and Twenty-four shall be present in their gowns, under the penalty of 2*s.* for each Portman defunct, and 12*d.* for each default of each of the Twenty-four.

1st Car. 6th April. All persons making default of the Great Court, or other assembly, shall be fined. Portmen 3*s.* Twenty-four 2*s.* and others 12*d.* The one moiety to the poor, the other to the serjeants for the levying thereof.

18th Charles. "If at any time hereafter in any Greate Courte any person or persons shall offer to speake and shall speake publiquely before the former p̃son that beganne to speake hath made an end of speaking, such p̃son or p̃sons shall forfait 12*d.* for every suche offence to the use of the poore where suche offender dwelleth, to be levied by distresse by the Chamberlins. And its agreed that when any p̃son shall speake they shall direct their speeches to Mr. Bayliffs for the time being."

Chamberlain. Benjamin Butler elected Chamberlin, in regard he can neither write nor read, at his request is discharged, paying his fine of 10 *li.*

The Corporation also appointed preachers to preach before the body at St. Mary Tower church, and musicians who attended upon all public occasions. These last were not allowed to leave the town without express permission of the Bailiffs. It was also a portion of their duty to attend processions of Corpus

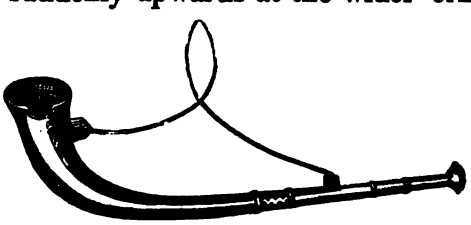
Christi Guild, and the Midsummer Watch. The musicians were provided with a livery, and a certain sum was annually paid them for the exclusive retention of their services by the town.

The efforts of the ancient Corporation were also especially directed towards the suppression of forestallers and regrators in the markets, as well as attending to the onerous duty of keeping the retail dealers honest towards the poor. Amerciaments, punishment by the pillory and the tumbril, deprivation of freedom and license to sell, abound in the Court Books. These punishments though severe were not so extreme as carried into effect in other towns, particularly in such places where the municipality held peculiar jurisdiction. The laws and punishments in the borough of Sandwich, one of the Cinque Ports, for instance, equalled in cruelty the few civil regulations held by the Danes. At Sandwich, it was no unusual proceeding to expatriate a man convicted of theft, or condemn the nailing of his ears to the pillory or a cart wheel, until he could depart from the locality by tearing the flesh from its fastening.*

The Great Courts were generally summoned to deliberation by the blowing of a horn. This ancient instrument, yet in the possession of the Corporation, is believed to have been bestowed on that body by King John, when granting the first charter, but nothing beyond tradition exists in support of the story. Its possession, however, is proof of the great antiquity of the local government, the custom of blowing a horn to collect the scattered members of the Great Court, dating from the Saxon period. An additional reason why the Ipswich horn is a type of Saxon custom is that it was blown at midnight before the door of the

* See *Boys's History of Sandwich.*

residence of the Bailiffs, and then in each ward, upon the night preceding the day of holding a Great Court. This is undoubtedly a Saxon custom. The Saxon officer, called Wakeman, anciently sounded his horn at the setting of the nightly watch, but upon the intended holding of any burgh mote, added three blasts long, loud, and dire, to his accustomed warning. In some towns the knowledge of the custom of setting the watch by the blowing of the Wakeman's horn is well preserved. In Ripon, an ancient custom was re-ordained as late as 1598, that the horn should be blown at the four corners of the cross at nine o'clock, after which if any house on the gate side within the town was robbed, the Wakeman paid the loss, if his servants were found not to have been on duty.* The Corporations of Dover, Sandwich, and other places, were also summoned to the consideration of their duties by the blowing of a horn. An additional proof if necessary, that the custom of using these horns arose from one single source, is shewn in the fact, that they are alike in form. The Great Court Trump of Ipswich, as this horn is termed, is nearly strait, but turns suddenly upwards at the wider orifice. Its



length is two feet nine inches, and its weight 4½lbs. The form of the Sandwich horn is similar, but the instrument is evidently of later manufacture, the end for the emission of sound bearing a more modern finish. It was most probably made on the general

* *Walbran's Ripon and Harrowgate.*

model of an ancient horn, with the addition of such improvement as the times suggested.

Besides the charters already mentioned, must be added those of the 3rd Richard III; 24th Henry VI; 2nd Richard III; 3rd Henry VII; 3rd Henry VIII; 13th Henry VIII. Those of which abstracts are given are however the principal charters on which the liberties of the town are more particularly founded.

The salary of the ancient Bailiffs fluctuated with the prosperity of the town. At the time of the enquiry into the condition of Corporations, as a prelude to the municipal changes afterwards adopted in the 5th and 6th Will. IV, cap. 76, the salary of each was £55. They were also entitled to two-penny-worth of fish from each fishing boat, and two bushels of coals from every coal ship, if not the property of a free man of the borough. They were also paid £1 : 11 : 6 each for service termed the "Bailiffs' Lantern." This payment was believed to apply to light and protection afforded the Bailiffs' wives in returning from their nightly visits. The lords and masters of these ladies being enjoined to hospitality during the time of holding office, it was also deemed imperative upon their wives who socially, if not municipally, shared the glory of office, to be apt and sedulous in their attentions to the dames of those over whom they ruled. Hence they visited their neighbours by night, and hence the origin of the payment made to light them home:—

> "Safe from slough, and toppling wall,
> Wandring hussey, knave, or scall."

By the charter of John, the Burgesses were empowered to elect two of the most learned men of the town and present them to the Chief Justice of

the Exchequer for his approval. By the charter of 10 Edward 2nd, the Burgesses were discharged from this presentation, but no certain day having been fixed upon for the election of Bailiffs, it was agreed at a Great Court held in the 13th of his reign that the annual election should from henceforth take place on the 8th of September, the feast of the nativity of the Virgin. The charter of 3rd Edward IV enacts, that the election should take place on this last day; but a custom obtaining, that they should not commence the duties of their office until the 29th of that month, a misunderstanding took place, and resort was had to legal proceedings, in order that the question might be definitely settled. In a modern trial or motion of Court in King's Bench, the names of Bailiffs were produced who had been elected on the 8th, to serve from the 29th of one year to the 29th of September in the next; in 54th, 55th, and 56th of Henry III; 11th, 24th, 25th, 30th, and 33rd of Edward I; 3rd and 6th of Edward II; 1st of Edward III; and from the 8th to the 18th of this reign, and in the 21st and 22nd of Richard II. The names of many other Bailiffs serving in the same manner could not be produced in consequence of the loss of the rolls. The custom of election continued, however, to exist as a cause of quarrel or misunderstanding, even down to the period when the office of Bailiff was exchanged for that of Mayor.

The following list (not perfect,) exhibits the names of those Bailiffs who served the Bailiwick, either solely or in conjunction with other officers in the Corporation from the reign of John:—

William de Belines and John Fitz Norman, served four times in the reign of John:—These were the first Bailiffs, and served four years.

Henry III. Thurston del Clay, one year; Fitz Wakelin Silvester, one year; Fitz Vivian Silvester, one year; Matthew de Porta or Porter and Henry Silvester, one year; Godfrey Davy and Robert de Orford—the first one and the second four years' service; H. Ivy and C. Foder, one year; Richard Fader, one year; Hugh Lew, one year.

Edward I. Fitz Vivian Silvester, four years; Vivian Silvester, two years; Richard Fader, one year; Gilbert de Burgh, two years; Edward de Castle Acre, one year; John Clement, five years; Thomas le Maister, one year; Roger le Maisoer, one year; John de Caustone, one year; Thomas Harrold, one year; Lawrence Harrold, one year; John Laurens, one year; Thomas Alfred, one year; John Lew, four years; Richard Lew, one year; Lawrence Cobb, four years; John de Whatfield, one year; Thomas Stacey, six years; Thomas de la Rout, four years; Thomas de Porta, two years; Edward Malyn, one year; John Harman, one year.

Edward II. Gilbert de Burgh, two years—also represented the town; John Clement, one year; John le Caustone, one year; Richard Lew, two years, and rep.; Lawrence Cobb, four years, and rep.; John de Whatfield, one year, and rep.; Thomas Stacey, one year, and rep.; Thomas de la Rout, eight years, and rep.; Edward Malyn, one year; John de Castleacre, one year; John Irpe or Yrpe, one year, and rep.; Walter le Westhall, one year; William Malyn, one year; Gilbard Robard, one year; Alexander Margery, two years; Henry le Rottenn, one year; John Harnies, one year, and rep.; John Hert, one year; John de Prestoun, one year.

Edward III. Vivian Silvester, one year; Gilbert de Burgh, one year; John Lew, two years; Thomas Lew,

two years; John Irpe, eight years; William Malyn, one year; Henry le Rottenn, one year; John de Prestoun, five years, also coroner; John de la Rout, one year; Robert le Prestoun, seven years; William le Smith, one year; Miles le Smith, one year; Thomas le Euson, one year, and coroner; Richard de Leyham, one year; John de Leyham, one year; Thomas de Whatfield, three years; Thomas le Cottelere, one year; William de Kenbrooks, one year; Thomas del Steen, three years; Thomas de Maister, three years; Edmund Petigard, two years; Henry Brinkhouse, one year; John Cobatt, seven years; Richard Haveringland, two years; Walter Curteis, four years; Jeffry Causten, four years; Thomas Preston, two years; Henry Starling, seven years; John Honed, one year; William Ringold, one year; Geoffry Stacey, two years; Thomas Tibaud, one year; Robert Tibaud, one year; John Yrpe, (*qy.* Irpe,) one year; Richard Wales, three years; William le Maister, one year; William del Fenn, one year; Hugh Wall, three years.

Richard II. Gilbert de Burgh, one year; Robert Wales, six years; William le Maister, one year; William del Fenn, two years; Hugh Wall, four years; William at Fenn, one year; Richard le Spicer, one year; Roger Gosnold, one year; John Arnold—and coroner two years; John Lucas, one year; John Stacey, one year; Geoffrey Starling, sen., two years; Geoffrey Starling, sen. and jun., twelve years; John Andrew, two years; Robert Lucas, one year; John Avelyn, two years; John Barnard, one year.

Henry IV. Robert Lucas, four years; John Barnard, one year; John Rous, two years; John Starling, four years; Richard Chercke, one year; John Luellen, one year; Thomas Andrewes, three years; John Parker, one year; William de Debenham, two years;

John Knapping, three years; John Starling, three years; John Horkeslee, six years; Hugh Hoo, one year, and coroner.

Henry V. Robert Lucas, two years; William Debenham, two years; John Knapping, four years; John Starling, one year; John Horkslee, two years; Hugh Hoo, two years; John Debenham, one year; John Jaye, two years, and town treasurer.

Henry VI. Henry de Debenham, thirteen years; Hugh Hoo, John Jaye, one year; Thomas Astley, two years; John Daken, seven years, and claviger ten years, and coroner two years; W. Balldry, one year; John Caldwell, seven years; William Wetherold, (coroner,) five years; Thomas Fastolfe, one year; Robert Drye, (and town treasurer,) two years; John Drayle, (coroner and claviger seven years,) two years; Robert Dyer, one year; John Felaw, one year; William Ridout, (claviger and town treasurer,) one year; Robert Smith, two years; John Geete (coroner) two years; William Ketche, two years; William Harlewin, one year; John Beckleswade, one year; Robert Wade, five years; Peter Terry, two years; Richard Felaw, four years; Thomas Denis, (claviger and treasurer,) eight years; Wm. Wallworth, two years; John Wallworth, two years; Edward Wynter, two years.

Edward IV. Richard Felaw, four years (claviger three years); Thomas Denis, one year; John Wallworth, seven years; Edmund Wynter, four years; Thomas Drayle, two years; Robert Blomfield, one year; John Hasting, two years; Joseph Hasting, one year; John Creyck, one year (died in Bailiwick); John Goss, three years; Robert Hall, three years; John Rever, two years; Benet Caldwell, three years (ordered to be disfranchised in 3rd of Rich-

ard III. for dire offences against the liberties of the town); Roger Stannard, three years; Richard Hawkeswade, one year; John Langcroft, one year; William Stile, two years; Robert Wimball, one year.

Richard III. John Goss, one year; Thomas Balldry, one year; Richard Harkstead, one year; William Sewell, one year.

Henry VII. John Wallworth, one year; Thomas Drayle, (died in 1500,) one year; Robert Blomfield, one year; John Hasting, one year; Richard Hawkeswade, one year; Thomas Baldry, five years; Richard Harksteade, one year; William Sewell, one year; Henry Stannard, one year; Roger Timperly, three years; William Revet, one year; W. Baker, four years; W. Spencer;* William Harlwin, two years; William Ropkin, two years; Richard Winter, one year; Thomas Alward, two years; James Hill, one year; John Hall, one year; William Daundy, one year; Edmund Dandy or Daundy, Robert Daundy.

Henry VIII. Thomas Baldry, three years; Henry Stannard, (coroner, town treasurer, portman, &c.) four years; James Hill, four years; Edward Daundy, John Allen, (not clear if he held the office in this reign); Thomas Ashley, (died in Bailiwick,) two years; William Nottingham, two years; Richard Percival, three years; William Stisted, three years; John Forgan, two years; Robert Joyne, (chamberlain, portman, claviger, and coroner, ten years,) two years; John Sparrowe, one year; Christopher Limner, one year; Robert Bray, two years; Robert Gooding, three years;

* By the Great Court Books, it appears that William Spencer, a *customer* at the port of Ipswich, being elected one of the Bailiffs, was commanded to be discharged therefrom, and another person to be elected in his stead, any law, ordinance, or custom of the said town notwithstanding.

John Pypho, two years; Robert Darby, one year; William Hall, three years; John Butler, (several years bailiff and corner. He paid a penalty of £10, being absent when he should have first taken the oath of office); Edward Geldgelt, one year; William West, one year; John Wilde, two years; Thomas Punder, (or Pounder,) one year (coroner ten years in the reign of Henry VII;)* Thomas Manser, two years; Nicholas Harvey, one year; Samuel Stisted, two years; John Smith, or Dyer, one year; William Reynbold, one year; Ralph Gooding, one year, also rep.; John Holland, one year; W. Sabyn, one year; Henry Tooley, one year.

Edward VI. Robert Daundy; John Allen,† one year; John Smith, one year; William Reynbold, one year; Thomas Gooding, one year; Ralph Gooding, one year; John Holland, one year; William Sabyn, one year; Henry Tooley, one year; Richard Skinner, one year; Richard Bird; John Gardner, one year; Matthew Gooding, one year; Richard Smart, one year.

Mary. John Smith, one year; William Reynbold, one year; Thomas Gooding, one year; Ralph Gooding, one year; William Sabyn, one year; Henry Tooley, one year; John Gardner, one year; John Valentine, one year; Richard Smart, one year; Robert Barker, one year.

Elizabeth. John Smith, two years; Thomas Gooding, two years;‡ Richard Gooding, (died in Baili-

* A splendid brass commemorates the death of this person, which took place in 1525, and now lies in the chancel floor of St. Mary Key.—*See Frontispiece.*

† John Allen was a shoemaker, and being elected a second time Bailiff, gave bond not to exercise his trade any more.

‡ Fined for not keeping hospitality in his Bailiwick, having received £5 to be hospitable.

wick,) Richard Bird, two years; John Gardner, three years; Robert Barker, four years; Robert King, two years; Robert Bray, one year; William Whitcroft, two years; Augustine Parker, two years; William Smart, five years; Thomas Bloss, one year (died in his bailiwick); Robert Cutler, sen. six years (died in bailiwick); Robert Snelling, two years; Ralph Gooding, one year (died in his bailiwick); Thomas Bloss, one year (died in his bailiwick); William Mydnall;* Richard Smart,† three years; Antony Bull, one year; Richard King, one year; William King, one year; Christopher Crane, two years; Geoffery Gilbard, four years; John Moore, three years; W. Barber, one year; Robert Limner, two years; William Gooding, one year; Edward Gooding, four years; John Barker, four years; W. Bloyse, three years; Robert Cutler, jun. two years; Ralph Scrivener, five years; Stephen Baxter, one year; Thomas Sicklemere, one year; John Tye, two years; William Sparrowe, one year; Robert Sparrowe, one year; John Knapp, five years; Edward Cage, one year.

James I. Robert Snelling, three years; Edward Gooding, one year; Robert Cutler, jun. three years; Thomas Sicklemere, two years; William Sparrowe, two years; Robert Sparrowe, one year; W. Acton, one year; George Acton, one year; Thomas Johnson, one year; W. Bloyse, jun. three years; Tobias Bloys or Bloss, four years; Matthew Brownrigg, four years; Richard Cock, two years; John Sicklemere, one year; W. Cage, three years; Michael Goodyere, two years; Thomas Eldred, one year; John Humphrey, one year; Richard Martin, three years; Samuel Cutler, one year;

* A death having occurred in the bailiwick, Mr. Mydnall was allowed £20 for serving the rest of the year.

† Fined for not keeping hospitality in his bailiwick during the last year.

Robert Scrivener, one year; Thomas Sherman, one year; Robert Benham, one year; Robert Gooding, two years.

Charles I. William Sparrowe, two years; Robert Sparrowe, one year; George Acton, one year; Tobias Bloss, four years; Matthew Brownrigg, three years; Richard Cock, two years; John Sicklemere, two years; William Cage, three years; Robert Gooding, one year; Edward Keene, two years; Christ. Aldgate, one year; William Clyett, one year; John Aldus; William Moysey, three years; John Barber, two years; Richard Pupplett, three years; Edward Tyler, one year; W. Tyler, two years; James Tillett, one year; Edward Humphrey, three years; Thomas Seeley, one year; John Barker, one year; Nicholas Phillipps, one year; John Brandling, two years; John Smythier, two years; Richard Hayle, one year; Robert Dunken, one year; Robert Pemberton, one year; Joseph Pemberton, one year; Manuell Sorrell, one year; Peter Fisher, one year.

Cromwell. John Brandling and Jacob Sale, 1650. Peter Fisher and Robert Dunkon, 1651. Richard Haill and Richard Jennings, 1652. Richard Puplett and Nicholas Phillips, 1653. John Aldus and Manuel Sorrell, 1654. John Smythies and Henry Whiting, 1655. John Brandling and Richard Puplett, 1656. Peter Fisher and Robert Dunkon, 1657. Richard Hayle and Richard Jennings, 1658. Nicholas Phillips and Robert Sparrowe, 1659.

Charles II. Manuel Sorrell and Thomas Wright, 1660. John Smythies and Henry Whiting, 1661. Lucas Jours, 1662. Richard Hayle and Thomas Burrough, 1663. Andrew Sorrell and Thomas Burrough, 1664. Nicholas Phillipps and John Robinson, 1665. Robert Sparrowe and John Wright, 1666. Sir Man-

uel Sorrel and Gilbert Lindfield, 1667. Lucas Jours and Miles Wallis, 1668. Andrew Sorrell and Henry Gosnold, 1669. Nicholas Phillips and Thomas Reeve, 1670. Robert Sparrowe and William Cullum, 1671. John Wright and Charles Wright, 1672. Gilbert Lindfield and John Pemberton, 1673. Lucas Jours and Miles Wallis, 1674. Andrew Sorrell and Lawrence Stisted, 1675. Henry Gosnold and Richard Phillipps, 1676. William Cullum and Edward Reynolds, 1677. John Wright and John Burrough, 1678. Charles Wright and Richard Sparrowe, 1679. Gilbert Lindfield and William Neave, 1680. John Pemberton and William Sayer, 1681. John Pemberton and Lawrence Stisted, 1682. Richard Phillips and William Browne, 1683. Edward Reynolds and John Blomfield, 1684.

James II. Charles Wright and John Burrough, 1685. Sir Robert Broke, bart. and Sir Henry Felton, bart. 1686. Sir Henry Felton, bart. and Lawrence Stisted, Richard Phillips and Miles Wallis, 1687. Richard Pemberton and John Burrough, Charles Wright and John Wade, 1688.

William and Mary. William Browne and Henry Sparrowe, 1689. Richard Puplett and Robert Manning, 1690. Charles Wright and William Browne, 1691. Henry Sparrowe, 1692. John Wade and Thomas Bowell, 1693. Richard Phillips and Samuel Reynolds, 1694. Lawrence Stisted and Thomas Bright 1695. Charles Wright and Edward Melksopp, 1696. William Neave and Henry Hill, 1697. Henry Sparrowe and Henry Skinner, 1698. Lawrence Stisted and Jacob Hodgson, 1699. Samuel Reynolds and John Goldson, 1700. Thomas Bowell and John Goldson, 1701.

Anne. Richard Phillips and Cooper Gravenor,

1702. Cooper Gravenor and Thomas Day, 1703. Cooper Gravenor and William Tye, 1704. Cooper Gravenor and William Tye, 1705. John Goldson and John Clarke, 1706. Truth Norris and Jonathan Quintin, 1707. Truth Norris and Cooper Gravenor, 1708. Cooper Gravenor and Francis Colman, 1709. Thomas Day and Henry Hill, 1710. Cooper Gravenor and Thomas Bowell, 1711. Henry Hill and Henry Nash, 1712. Cooper Gravenor and John Marlow, 1713.

George I. Henry Hill and Henry Nash, 1714. Cooper Gravenor and John Marlow, 1715. Francis Colman and George Scott, 1716. Cooper Gravenor and Thomas Starling, 1717. John Goldson and Francis Colman, 1718. Cooper Gravenor and Thomas Starling, 1719. Cooper Grovenor and Thomas Starling, 1720. John Marlow and John Steward, 1721. John Cornelius and John Sparowe, 1722. George Scott and Edward Bowell, 1723. John Cornelius and John Sparowe, 1724. Henry Hill and Henry Nash, 1725. Francis Colman and Thomas Starling, 1726.

George II. John Steward and John Cornelius, 1727. John Sparowe and John Marlow, 1728. Henry Hill and Edward Bowell, 1729. John Cornelius and Francis Negus, 1730. John Sparowe and Francis Colman, 1731. John Marlow and Thomas Starling, 1732. John Cornelius and Nathaniel Cole, 1733. John Sparowe and John Steward, 1734. John Cornelius and Nathaniel Cole, 1735. John Sparowe and Edward Lynch, 1736. John Cornelius and John Marston, 1737. John Sparowe and Richard Lloyd, 1738. John Cornelius and Nathaniel Cole, 1739. John Sparowe and John Margerum, 1740. John Cornelius and Nathaniel Cole, 1741. John Sparowe

and John Marston, 1742. John Cornelius and John Margerum, 1743. John Sparowe and Henry Skynner 1744. John Cornelius and Humphry Rant, 1745. John Margerum and Henry Skynner, 1746. John Cornelius and Nathaniel Cole, 1747. John Sparowe and Humphry Rant, 1748. John Margerum and Michael Thirkle, 1749. John Sparowe and Goodchild Clarke, 1750. Mich. Thirkle and William Hammond, 1751. Humphry Rant and Goodchild Clarke, 1752. John Sparowe and Michael Thirkle, 1753. John Gravenor and Thomas Richardson, 1754. Lark Traver and Thomas Bowell, 1755. Thomas Richardson and William Truelove, 1756. John Gravenor and John Dade, 1757. Thomas Richardson and Samuel Hamblin, 1758. William Truelove and Richard Lockwood, 1759. John Gravenor and John Trapnell, 1760.

George III. William Truelove and Samuel Hamblin, 1761. John Gravenor and Richard Lockwood, 1762. William Truelove and John Trapnell, 1763. John Gravenor and Samuel Hamblin, 1764. Richard Lockwood and Charles Norris, 1765. William Truelove and John Trapnell, 1766. Humphry Rant and Miles Wallis, 1767. William Hammond and William Wollaston, 1768. Miles Wallis and Peter Clarke, 1769. William Hammond and Thomas Staunton, 1770. Miles Wallis and William Clarke, 1771. Humphry Rant and William Wollaston, 1772. Miles Wallis and William Clarke, 1773. Humphry Rant and Thomas Hallum, 1774. William Walliston and William Clarke, 1775. Peter Clarke and Thomas Hallum, 1776. William Wollaston and Joseph Clarke 1777. Thomas Staunton and Peter Clarke, 1778. William Clarke and Joseph Clarke, 1779. Peter Clarke and Thomas Hallum, 1780. William Clarke and Samuel Wollaston, 1781. Thomas Hallum and

Henry Seekamp, 1782. Peter Clarke and John Spooner, 1783. William Truelove and Charles Stisted, 1784. Charles Norris and William Middleton, 1785. Robert Trotman and Charles Squire, 1786. William Truelove and John Kerridge, 1787. Charles Norris and William Lynch, 1788. William Truelove and Robert Trotman, 1789. Henry Seekamp and John Spooner, 1790. William Truelove and Peter Clarke, 1791. Charles Stisted and William Lynch, 1792. John Kerridge and William Norris, 1793. Robert Trotman and John Walford, 1794. John Kerridge and Samuel Thorndike, 1795. William Norris and Samuel Howes, 1796. John Kerridge and Robert Trotman, 1797. Thomas Hallum and Samuel Thorndike, 1798. John Kerridge and William Norris, 1799. Robert Trotman and Simon Jackaman, 1800. John Kerridge and Samuel Thorndike, 1801. William Norris and John Walford, 1802. Robert Trotman and Simon Jackaman, 1803. John Kerridge and Samuel Thorndike, 1804. Simon Jackaman and Robert Alexander Crickitt, 1805. John Spooner and John Forsett, 1806. Simon Jackaman and Edward Bacon, 1807. Samuel Thorndike and William Batley, 1808. Simon Jackaman and James Thorndike, 1809. Edward Bacon and Samuel Safford, 1810. Robert Trotman and William Batley, 1811. Edward Bacon and John Denny, 1812. William Batley and James Thorndike, 1813. Samuel Thorndike and John Denny, 1814. William Batley and James Thorndike, 1815. John Denny and Samuel Boggis, 1816. Edward Bacon and John Eddowes Sparrowe, 1817. William Batley and John Denny, 1818. James Thorndike and John Eddowes Sparrowe, 1819.

George IV. W. B. Clarke and Benjamin Brame, 1820. Sir William Middleton, bart. and F. F. See-

kamp, 1821. Benjamin Brame and William Hammond, 1822. William Batley and John Aldrich, 1823. F. F. Seekamp and C. C. Hammond, (both disclaimed) 1824. F. F. Seekamp and C. C. Hammond, 1825. William Lane and John Chevallier Cobbold, 1826. F. F. Seekamp and Joseph Pooley, 1827. William Lane and Benjamin Batley Catt, 1828. Edward Bacon and John Chevallier Cobbold, 1829.

William IV. Benjamin Batley Catt and W. Calver 1830. John Chevallier Cobbold and W. Dunningham, 1831. B. B. Catt and Wm. Porter, 1832. W. Calver and T. Dunningham, 1833. John Chevallier Cobbold and Henry Gallant Bristo, 1834.

These were the last Bailiffs. The chief officer of Ipswich since this period bears the title of Mayor.

The office of High Steward is honorary merely.

The first appointment of High Steward is believed to be that of William Cordell, Esq. afterwards Sir W. Cordell,* Master of the Rolls in the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary. His fee was £4, payable at the feast of the annunciation of Mary and at Michaelmas in equal proportions.

The office of High Steward seems to have been generally bestowed upon important personages without particular connection with the town. In 1581, Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, was recommended by the majority of the Portmen,† and elected. The officers of the court of Elizabeth appear to have enjoyed not only the favour of their royal

* In Long Melford Church is a fine monument to the memory of Sir W. Cordell.

† "To have the said place and to continue therein during his and the town's pleasure, and to have £10 yearly fee payable half yearly by moieties, and to have a patent under the common seal." *Bacon's MSS.*

mistress, but also of the Bailiffs and Burgesses of Ipswich, for Lord Hunsdon, her Majesty's Lord Chamberlain, was elected 11th September, 1590, and the unfortunate Earl of Essex on 14th August, 1596. In 1601, this nobleman being declared a traitor, the corporation discharged him from his place of High Steward, and his patent was made void. The attachment of the corporation towards the officers of the Queen, still continued, though the body had been so unfortunate as to bestow its favours on Essex, and on the 20th April, 1601 (43rd of Elizabeth) Thomas, Lord Buckhurst was elected, with a fee of £10. His lordship held the office until his death, and had Elizabeth continued to live, no doubt similar favours would have continued to have been bestowed by her faithful subjects at Ipswich upon her illustrious officials.

The origin of this attachment to her Majesty is involved in mystery. Elizabeth gave a charter to the Grammar School, and bestowed other favours upon the inhabitants. She visited the town in her progresses, but her abuse of the clergy upon one occasion was unlikely to have left a favourable impression upon the minds either of the corporation or of the inhabitants generally.

On the 27th April, 1609 (6 Jac. I) the Earl of Salisbury was chosen High Steward, but he refused to accept the office.

On the 6th June, in the same year, Thomas Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, was appointed. His fee was £10, which he condescended to receive, as a receipt in the sign manual of his lordship fully attests. Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, appears to have enjoyed the full favour of the Corporation, for in 1611, £20 was allowed for the purchase of a silver cup to be presented to his lordship, and some years after-

wards, namely December, 1626, (2 Charles I), both this nobleman and the Earl of Salisbury, when visiting the town upon the Commission of his Majesty, a banquet and a hogshead of wine was voted upon the occasion.

Theophilus, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Lieutenant of the county, was chosen 19th March, 1627.

James, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Lieutenant of the county, was chosen 8th September, 1653, (5 Charles II). His patent was prepared, and four-pence is charged in the Chamberlain's accounts for its preparation.

Charles, Lord Cornwallis, was chosen 8th Sept. 1692. His fee was £10, which was paid him. No gratuity appears to have been paid to other High Stewards.

The Earl of Dysart was appointed May 6th, 1703 (2nd Queen Anne).

Lionel, Earl of Dysart, chosen High Steward Sept. 8th, 1729, (3 George II.)

Horatio, Lord Nelson, held the office of High Steward, being chosen 11th October, 1798, after the victory of the Nile. The hero did not take the oath, and his death at Trafalgar prevented any further connection with the town.*

On the 29th September 1806, Wilbraham, Earl of Dysart, was appointed and accepted the office.

On the 8th September, 1821, Sir Robert Harland, bart. was chosen. Sir Robert ceased to hold office upon the passing of the Municipal Act, but was reappointed at a quarterly meeting of the Town Council, held on the 12th February, 1836.

The Bailiffs of Ipswich were assisted in their

* Nelson resided for a short period at Round Wood, on the Woodbridge Road.

duties by men learned in the law, denominated Town Council. These appear to have originated in 1448, (27 Henry VI,) when four assistant Justices were appointed. The fee was 20*s.* a year. From this time to the reign of Queen Anne, men eminent in the law were appointed at Great Courts, at annual stipends, and it was expected that they should render advice and assistance to the Bailiffs and Justices when called upon.

James Hobard appears to have been the first law officer regularly appointed by Great Court. The date of his appointment is the 39th Henry VI. His stipend was fixed at 20*s.* for the year, and he was paid a further fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* to practice as attorney for the town in the Court at Westminster, or any other place in England.

John Solyard, or Sulyard, appointed 5th Edward IV, at the same fee of 20*s.* He performed his office with great ability.*

John Cheeke and Thomas Hobard were elected Town Council, 1st Henry VII.

Humphry Wingfield and Robert Southwell were elected Counsel for the town, 23rd Henry VII.

In the 13th Henry VIII, the fee was increased to 40*s.* but lowered to 20*s.* upon the appointment of John Southwell, 1st Edward VI.

Nicholas Hare appointed 1553, (1 and 2 Mary,) the yearly fee was increased to £3 : 6 : 8.

Francis Moon next appointed, received £1 : 6 : 8.

* Mr. Sulyard is presumed to be the individual to whom a grant of free manor at Wetherden was confirmed 8th Edward IV, afterwards knighted and made a Judge. His son, Sir J. Sulyard, represented the borough of Ipswich in 1553 and 1555, and had a grant of the manor of Haughly; and of Haughly Park in the reign of Elizabeth.

In the 12th year of Elizabeth, John Clenche, Esq. succeeded William Foster, discharged. The fee of Clenche was 26*s.* 8*d.* He was afterwards made Recorder, and died a Judge* of the kingdom.

In the 14th of Elizabeth, Richard Kemp, learned in the law, was retained as Town Counsel at a fee of 20*s.*

Edward Coke, afterwards the celebrated Lord Chief Justice, was appointed Town Counsel in 1584, the 26th of Elizabeth, at the yearly fee of five marks. Forty shillings was also ordered to be paid him (3 Jac.) for advice given upon the admiralty jurisdiction, and presents were also bestowed, value £4 : 18 : 4. In 1609, a grant was made to him of several mills standing at Bourn Bridge.

Thomas Walton, elected 27th Elizabeth; Edmund Poley, 35th Elizabeth; Sergt. Barker and Sir Robert Hitcham, 7th Jac. 1st.†

John Lany, elected in 12 Jac. 1st; Richard Keeble, 9th Charles 1st; Francis Bacon, 18th Charles 1st (1643); Thomas Edgar, 22nd Charles 1st; Thomas Dade, 14th Charles 2nd (1663); and W. Richardson, 15th Charles 2nd.

In the 22nd Charles 2nd (1670) Christopher Milton, brother of John Milton, the poet, was elected. He was afterwards appointed one of the Barons of

* Judge Clenche resided at Holbrook, for some years preceding his death. He lies buried in Holbrook church. A monument (painted) with the recumbent effigies of himself and wife, stands in the South aisle.

† Sir Robert Hitcham resided in the parish of St. Matthew. He was born at Levington, and educated at the Grammar School at Ipswich. He purchased the remains of the ancient Castle of Framlingham, with certain manors belonging to the Norfolk family, which he left by will to charitable and collegiate purposes. He is buried in the chancel of Framlingham church.

the Court of Exchequer, but becoming infirm, retired to Ipswich, and resided in a house in Tacket Street, where it is believed he died. Judge Milton lived for some years in this town, and to his residence a chapel for his private worship was annexed. Christopher Milton was also made Deputy Recorder of the town.

Philip Bacon, John Hodges, and Peyton Ventris, Esqrs. were appointed, 33rd Charles 2nd (1681). In 1689, Ventris was made a Judge.

No other person of eminence appears to have been appointed Town Counsel after this date, and no entry of appointment is made after the year 1704.

By the Charter of 17th Charles 2nd, the Recorder must be "a discreet man, and learned in the laws of England." He was formerly chosen at a Great Court by the Bailiffs and Burgesses, and since the Municipal Reform Bill, by the Town Council. His election is for life, without the commission of great misbehaviour.

The Recorder has power to nominate a deputy, who must also be a man "discreet and learned in the laws of England." Both Recorder and Deputy take oath before the Bailiffs, that "they will well and faithfully do and execute all and every thing which to the same office shall appertain." His chief, indeed the only present duty of the Recorder is to preside as Judge, with the Mayor and Magistrates at the Quarter Sessions and Court of Record of the town.

No mention is made of the Recorder until the 16th year of Elizabeth, when John Clenche, Esq. afterwards Judge Clenche, was elected to fill the office.*

* "John Clenche, Esq. shall from Michaelmas next beare the title of Recorder of this town, and shall have £10 yerely fee, and therefore solicit the towne causes at London, and shall deale in the towne and be the same as a freeman." On the 8th Sept.

From the duties mentioned, the Recorder when originally appointed, would seem to have been permanently resident in the town, and to have assisted, and perhaps presided, at all courts in which the presence or judgment of the Bailiffs was required.

John Lany, of Cratfield, "learned in the law," was elected Recorder 27th Elizabeth (1584), provided he resided in the town—another proof of the frequent recurring duties of this office.*

John Lany, jun. was elected in the room of his father, 9th Car. 1633. Mr. Lany was resident in London, but on appointment removed to Ipswich, and his fee increased from £13 : 6 : 8 to £20.† He appears to have resigned the Recordership into the hands of Nathaniel Bacon.

Nathaniel Bacon was elected Recorder in the year 1643, at a period when the troubles between the king and the parliament, the church and the puritans, convulsed the nation. It is not improbable, that the resignation of Mr. Lany occurred because of his objection to the spirit which seemed to actuate the Corporation against the measures of the king. Nathaniel Bacon, a republican, and man of talent, was considered a person more apt to represent the interests which aimed at curtailing, if not totally destroying, the

17th Elizabeth—"Mr. Clenche shall from henceforthe be Recorder of this towne during the towne's pleasure, and shall have £13 : 6 : 8 yearly, provided he shall dwell in the towne with his ffamily during his office, and shall solicit all causes of the towne, and aid the Bailiffs in all causes of judgment, and not be of counsel in any private man's cause in the Town Courte, and shall be sworne free Burgess.—*Bacon's MSS.*

* Mr. Lany is buried in St. Margaret's church; in the North aisle of which building, is a mural monument to his memory. It displays the armorial bearings of his family.

† Buried in St. Nicholas church.

power and authority of hereditary government than his predecessor, and his appointment to an office of trust and power was considered of value in carrying forward the movement. Nathaniel Bacon not only assisted the cause of the Parliament in Ipswich, but also as chairman of the associated counties, at Cambridge, in companionship with Oliver Cromwell, and other leading men of that eventful era.*

Upon the death of Nathaniel Bacon, John Sicklemore, Esq. was elected Recorder on the 8th September, 1660. He was instrumental in obtaining the charter of 17th Charles II.†

John Sicklemore, Esq. was followed in the Recordership by Thomas Edgar, Esq. one of the Common Council. He was elected at a Great Court held in 1672.‡

Charles Whittaker, sergeant-at-law, who followed Mr. Sicklemore, was appointed in the year 1692. In 1703, the Bailiffs complained that he had neglected his duty, and his salary was suspended. In the next year, further complaint being made, he was discharged.

On the 8th September, in the same year, Leicester Martin, who married the grand-daughter of Sir W. Wythypoll, and resided at the mansion of Christ Church, was appointed Recorder, and he nominated W. Thompson, Esq. his deputy. Leicester Martin resigned in the following year, and the office was bestowed on his deputy.

A writ of Mandamus was afterwards issued at the

* For a full account of Nathaniel Bacon, see Biographical Memorials.

† Mr. Sicklemore is buried in Bramford church, in which parish he had possessions.

‡ Buried in the chancel of St. Margaret's church.

suit of Sergeant Whittaker, to compel the restoration of that person to the Recordership. He failed, however in re-obtaining the office, and died on the 9th of June, 1707, aged 73.

W. Thompson received the honour of Knighthood, and was made one of the Barons of the Exchequer, but continued to hold the Recordership of Ipswich, during his life.*

Richard Loyd, Esq. Barrister-at-law, was elected Recorder on 1st January, 1739.†

Charles Gray, Esq. a native of Colchester, and who represented the borough in five successive parliaments, was elected in the room of Sir Richard Loyd, Knt. He resigned in 1776, through age and infirmity.‡

Humphrey Rant, Recorder, appointed February 22, 1776.|| He was also Recorder of Harwich and Orford. In 1776, he was appointed Patent Customer of Ipswich.

* Buried in St. Nicholas church, where is a mural monument at the East end of the South aisle to his memory. He presented a "Loving Cup" of silver to the Corporation, in 1735, which is still used on occasions of conviviality. The inscription is as follows:—

"A Loving Cup,
The gift of Sir W. Thompson, Knt.
One of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer,
Recorder of the city of London,
And of the town of Ipswich,
1735."

† In 1734, Mr. Loyd purchased the Hintlesham estate. He was also appointed a Baron of the Exchequer. He died September 6th, 1761.

‡ Mr. Gray was the possessor of Colchester castle, having purchased it in 1772, of Sir Isaac Martin Rebow. Mr. Gray repaired the roof and built a dome of rough materials as nearly resembling the rest of the building as possible. The ditch and rampart were taken into an adjoining garden.

|| Buried at Dickleburgh, Norfolk.

William Mayhew, Barrister, of Colchester, appointed 8th March, 1779.

Charles Alexander Crickitt, Esq. a Proctor of Doctor's Commons, representative for the borough, and banker, was elected 1st December, 1787.

Robert Alderson, Esq. of Bungay, Barrister, appointed February 9th, 1803.

Charles Frederick Williams, Esq. Barrister-at-law, was elected March 11th, 1831. He was afterwards appointed one of the Commissioners of Bankruptcy, and Knighted. Sir Charles Frederick Williams resigned the Recordership in April, 1842.

He was succeeded by W. T. S. Daniel, Esq.

An extended explanation of the office of Town Clerk is not necessary, the particulars of its duties being well known. It might, however, be noticed, that upon the change of the old Corporation, under the Municipal Act, the then Town Clerk, J. E. Sparrowe, Esq. was not re-appointed. A claim for compensation was made by Mr. Sparrowe, which, after considerable contest, was allowed, and a sum of £350 awarded.*

Although not strictly a corporate office, yet a brief account of the office of Town Attorney may not be uninteresting.

The origin of the office, or indeed of the duties assigned to it, are not found in any entry of the records of the town, but in the reign of Elizabeth no attorney, not a freeman, was allowed to practise in the Town Courts. The Corporate body appear to have exercised unlimited power over the attorneys they appointed.

In the reign of James 1st four attorneys were admitted to practise in the Town Courts at one time,

* Mr. Sparrowe was re-elected to his office in 1844.

and no one could be admitted as an attorney of the Court of Small Pleas, but by consent of the Bailiffs for the time being, and the major part of the Portmen and Twenty-four. Bailiffs admitting any one contrary to this rule were rendered liable to a forfeiture of £20 each to the Governors of Christ's Hospital. Town Attorneys were also restricted from practice in other courts, and not giving due attendance in the Town Courts became subject to discharge by the Corporation.

An instance of the appointment of a Town Attorney not being a free burgess, occurs notwithstanding the order to the contrary, in 15th Jas. by the admission to practice of Richard Grimstone. Evidence, however, of the contravention of the custom being limited to freemen, appears on the entry, viz.—that he shall be allowed to practice without being a free burgess, notwithstanding any former order to the contrary.

In the reign of Charles 1st, two of the Town Attorneys were discharged for neglect and non-attendance. Others were appointed in their stead.

The last Attorneys entered upon the town books at the date of the Municipal Reform Bill, were Mr. P. B. Long, Mr. Pearson, Mr. B. Brame, and Mr. Gross.

The office of Claviger is ancient. By reference to the charter of John, it will be found, that the charter and common seal were to be delivered to the keeping of three Burgesses stiled Clavigers. Great care was taken in all following years that the records and seal should be kept safely. Ordinances were made in the reign of Edward II, Henry VIII, and others, that nothing should pass the common seal without common consent, and that for securing the charters and records of the Corporate body, as also to prevent the common seal being "unfitly used," a lock should be placed on

the "iron-bound chest," and another lock on the door at the foot of the stairs leading to the Treasury, and that the key of the chest be kept by the elder Bailiff, and the key to the door by the junior Bailiff for the time being, and that a separate lock and key of different workmanship be delivered to the keeping of the then Clavigers.

The Clavigers were yearly nominated on the 8th of September, and sworn into office on the 29th. The same Clavigers held office many years. They were invariably chosen from the Common Councilmen. The accounts of the Clavigers were passed at an audit composed of the assembly.

The office of Chamberlain, which continued down to the appointment of the modern Town Council, when it was abolished, claims origin as early as John. By the first proceedings under the charter of that monarch, four persons were appointed to collect the customs of the town, and to pay the fee-farm to the king.

At the period of the seizure of the town by Edward I, collectors were then appointed by the king.

Chamberlains (known under this title) seem to have been first appointed in the 13th Edward II, when by order of Great Court, "two sufficient persons of the inferior sort of people" were elected by common consent as Chamberlains, to receive the various pleas, issues, and amerciments of the town, "and thereout to pay the ferme to the king, the Bailiffs fees, and other estreates of the town."

These officers were chosen from a better description of persons in the reign of Henry VII. In the 3rd year of that king's reign, they were empowered to collect the market dues, profits of the mill at Stoke, and other rents of the Corporate body. From these sources they were to pay the fee-farm, the wages

of the Parliamentary Burgesses, the stipend of the Bailiffs, and answer all warrants under the Bailiffs' signature for the payment of money.

In the reign of Henry VIII, John Harbottle, Chamberlain, was bound in 100 marks not to depart the realm until the fee-farm rent had been paid to the king.

The Bailiffs anciently nominated their own Chamberlains, who claimed the privilege of a seat at the Bailiff's dinner table on Sundays, or to be paid a composition at the end of the year in lieu thereof.

Chamberlains have been fined for misbehaviour.

The office of Portman dates back to John's Charter, the "Twelve capital men" elected under the proceedings, being Portmen. This body, had bestowed upon them a piece of land called Oldenholme,* for the support of their horses. The fee simple of the ground was however retained by the Corporation, who mortgaged it whenever the funds of the town required temporary replenishment.

The duties of the Portmen are undefined. The modern office, which ceased on the re-construction of Corporations, were nearly nominal. But little doubt, however, exists that the Portman was synonymous with the ancient Hosteman, to whose good keeping the foreign merchants attending the port were consigned, and who aided them in the sale of their goods, they being allowed to purchase a fourth part only, if they pleased. This last custom was fixed in conformity with the laws against forestalling.

Under the Headboroughs, but in the presence of the Bailiffs, Portmen, and Twenty-four, who attended

* Afterwards called "Portmens Walks," and were enjoyed by that body till the Municipal Reform Bill abolished both Portmen and their privileges.

in their gowns, a Court Leet was formerly held in the Whitsun-week, when all the inhabitants between the ages of twelve and sixty, took the Leet Oath, as also in later periods the oaths of supremacy and obedience.

The Leet Oath was in these words:—"Yee shal true liege men be and true faith beare to the king's magistie that now is, his heirs and successors; Yee shal be no theife nor theifes fellow, nor theif know. Treason, murder, or felonie yee shal not keep secrette, but shal thereof inform the king's officers that have the lawe in gouvernance. Yee shal be buxom and obedient to all Justices, Sheriffs, Escheators, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other the king's officers in all things they shall lawfully command yee to doe. And alsoe from henceforthe truely to live according to such vocation as God shall call yee unto as neer as God shall give yee grace,

So helpe yee God."

With this ancient oath we close the Memorials of the Corporation of Ipswich.

"THESE BEE YE ARMES BELONGING AUNTIANTLYE TO YE TOWNE OF AND BOROUGH OF IPSWICH, AND YE BAYLYFFS AND BURGESSES AND COMMONALLITIE OF YE SAME, AND AT THIS PRESENT VISITATION WEERE BAYLYFFS OF YE SAME TOWNE, JOHN GARDINER AND GEFFREY GILBERT."
Harvey's Visitation, 1561.

OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE TOWN BY LAND AND WATER.

THE ancient land franchise of Ipswich though earlier defined, was particularly laid down in the 26th Edward III, when the Bailiffs and other officers of the Corporation made perambulation of its extent. The circuit of these bounds, accurately measured, extended 19 miles, 1 furlong, and 20 roods, and its contents 8450 acres.* The old point of starting upon the perambulation was from the Bull-stake on the Cornhill, over Stoke Bridge, to the middle of Bourn Bridge, thence up the stream of water flowing through the valley to Belstead Bridge, and onwards across the high ground and low meadows to the old Hadleigh road—along this ancient highway crossing to Whitton, thence to Westerfield, across the Woodbridge road to Bexley heath, and down to the farm of Alies Borne (Alnesborne) to Downham Reach, on the left bank of the Orwell, and thence back to the town.

These boundaries are minutely laid down in Bacon's manuscript, and were published with plans in 1815.†

* See page 1.

† "Ancient and Modern Perambulations, and extracts from charters, trials, and other records, relative to the liberties of Ipswich,

The Admiralty Jurisdiction, or the liberties by water, extended, and extend, from Ipswich on both sides of the waters of the Orwell to high-water mark, to the town of Harwich, a portion of which is crossed by the line, and from thence upon the salt water to Polles Hinnell, Polles Head, or Paul's Head, a tongue of land beyond Langar Fort, but now destroyed by the waves.

These liberties have been claimed by the Bailiffs from the earliest period to which history refers, though it appears not without much contradiction of right. Disputes as to the extent of the water boundary commenced as early as 1340, the 14th Edward III, when the "men of Harwich" denied that it included their own waters, or a portion of the point of land upon which the town of Harwich stood. An appeal was made to the sovereign on behalf of the men of Ipswich, and Edward issued a commission to enquire into the extent of the haven, port, and customs due to it. The parties appointed by the crown were John de Welnetham, John de la Rochelle, and Robert le Clere. The commission set forth,*—"That the Burgesses of the town of Ipswich hold of the crown of England the said town with the appurtenances at fee-farm, rendering thereout £60 yearly, and that the whole haven of Erewell in the arm of the sea then to the said town did belong, and from all times past had belonged to the Bailiffs of the said town, distresses and attachments in the said port had made and tolls and other

by land and water, intended as a companion to the maps of those jurisdictions. Ipswich, printed and sold by John Bransby, 1815." This volume also contains a perambulation of the franchise for the purpose of record, made in 1522, and minutely laid down in the Ipswich Domesday Book.

* Ipswich Domesday.

small customs (of things and merchandizes to the said port and town coming) had taken and ought to take for the better enabling them to pay the ferm aforesaid, which from all times past they had been accustomed to do; but that the men of Harwich by colour of letters patent, which lately at their request had been granted on their information that the said haven belonged to them, certain customs of goods and merchandizes coming to the said haven for a certain time for the benefit of the said town might take, but which said letters afterwards being found prejudicial had been revoked; yet the men of Harwich aforesaid the custom of such goods and merchandizes coming to the said port of Erewell without respect had to such revocation, having continued to take, whereby the said Burgesses of Ipswich could not pay the fee-farm as they ought—wherefore the Commissioners stated that it was his Majesty's royal will, that the former Charters to the Burgesses of the said town to have the fee-farm aforesaid, should again by charter be confirmed, and the said port with the arm of the sea in that charter should be specified, and being willing to provide for the indemnity of the Burgesses aforesaid, and to be more fully certified as touching the premises, had assigned the Commissioners above named, or two of them, to enquire by oath of honest and lawful men of the county of Suffolk, in the presence of the Bailiffs and other honest men of the town of Harwich, (if they will be present,) if the port aforesaid with the arm of the sea there do belong to the said town of Ipswich, as it is said, or not, and if so, then from what time? in what manner and how? and if the Bailiffs of the said town of Ipswich as distresses and attachments in the said port do make, and tholle and other small customs of goods and merchandizes

to the port and town of Ipswich ought to take for their fee-farm without that any other persons the like distresses and attachments ought to make or tholle and other customs of the said goods and merchandizes ought to take, and heretofore have and ought to have, or not." The Sheriff of the county of Suffolk was commanded to summon a jury for the purpose aforesaid, and an inquisition was accordingly taken at Ipswich on Monday in the Whitsun-week, in the same year, by the said John de Welnetham and John de la Rochelle, by the oaths of Thomas de Hoo, Wm. de Henley, and ten others, who certified on their oaths "that the port of Erewell wholly with the whole arm of the sea there running from a certain place called Polles in the deep sea, on every side unto the town of Ipswich to the said town as to the crown of our sovereign lord the king doth belong, and for all times past hath belonged. Also that the port aforesaid takes its original and name from a certain fountain (or spring) called Erewell, which is in the town of Rattlesden, in the said county, (which is distant downwards from Ipswich toward the town of St. Edmund 15 miles,) and floweth by a river through the middle of the borough aforesaid to the port aforesaid, and that the borough aforesaid, at the first, was seated there by reason of the port aforesaid as the chief town of the whole county of Suffolk; and that the Bailiffs of the said town, and the officers of the predecessors of our lord the king, kings of England, and not other persons for all times in which the said borough was in the king's hands, distresses and attachments which to the Bailiffs and Officers of the king ought to belong, to be done in the port and arm aforesaid, in every place have made and tholls and other customs which of things and other saleable merchandize within the

port and arm aforesaid, coming and going forth to other places, ought to take and have taken as appurtenances to the borough aforesaid, the particulars of which are thereafter set forth. And of all other fresh customs to belong to the king to be taken of all things and merchandize saleable, of which the particulars in certain cannot appear to the jurors, but which they have taken as belonging to the borough aforesaid, and the Bailiffs and officers of our lord the king of the borough aforesaid, and not other distresses and attachments in the port and arm afforesaid every where have made and ought to make and tholls and other customs aforesaid of things and saleable merchandizes coming to the said port or borough, or from thence going, ought to take, from the time therein. Lord John, formerly king of England, progenitor of our now lord the king, the borough aforesaid with its appurtenances, to the Burgesses of Ipswich did grant and demise, to have and to hold to its said Burgesses and their heirs and successors for ever of the aforesaid Lord John, formerly king and his heirs of his crown by certain ferm to him and his heirs yearly and his Exchequer to be returned and paid, as belonging to the said borough, for its better enabling the said ferm of our lord the king. And further certify that no other person hath taken or ought to take distresses, &c, or tholls, &c., until of late the men of Harwich, &c."

We find again by reference to the Domesday Book of Ipswich, that in the year 1380 (4th Richard II) the townsmen petitioned the king that they might have their haven to Polleshead granted to them, their heirs, and successors, to hold in fee-ferm which they had time out of memory belonging to them, but not expressed in their charters in particular words.

The king on this application granted a commission of enquiry, and appointed John de Sutton, Richard de Waldegrave, Knights, and the Sheriff of Suffolk, or two of them, to enquire upon oath, if the port to the place aforesaid had formerly and did still pertain to the town as parcel of the farm thereof, and if it would be to the prejudice of the town, or otherwise, that it should be granted unto them unto the place aforesaid in aid of their fee-ferm. The date of this commission is the 16th October, 1380.

The commissioners met at Shotley, on Thursday after Allsaints of the same year, and took on oath the evidence of Nicholas Norman and eleven others, who said that the port of the town of Ipswich extended from the said town unto Polleshead, and so had done time out of mind, and remained at the present parcel of the fee and farm of the same town, and that it would not be to the damage or prejudice of the king or others, if the king granted the same to the Burgesses of the said town, their heirs or successors.

In the 3rd Edward IV, (1463) that king granted by charter under the great seal, bearing date at Westminster the 18th of March, in that year, to the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the town and borough of Ipswich in the county of Suffolk, and their successors for ever, the authority and power of doing and executing within the said town of Ipswich the liberties and precincts of the same—All and singular the things which belong to the Admiral or the office of Admiral there by the Bailiffs of the town aforesaid for the time being to be done. That no Admiral of the said king or his heirs, nor any deputy or deputies or servants of such Admiral should enter or sit within the said town, liberties, suburbs, or precincts to enquire or cause enquiry to be made con-

cerning anything done or thereafter to be done, or happening, or arising within the town, under any pretence, nor should intrude himself or themselves within the said town, liberties, or suburbs, or precincts, concerning anything that belonged to the said office of Admiral, and that it should be lawful for the said Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty and their successors to resist such Admiral, deputies, and servants, who shall attempt to execute and perform anything belonging to their office within the borough, liberties, suburbs and precincts aforesaid by land or by water, and by no means to permit him or them to perform any office there or in any manner to exercise the same.

In the 8th Henry VII, the Earl of Oxford, Admiral of England, sent a precept to the Bailiffs to attach "shipps in the rode of Ipswich," for the Admiralty of the kingdom, which the Bailiffs refused to do. The Bailiffs afterwards sent John Balked with the charter to Heveningham castle to shew the same to the Admiral, where also were present James Hobard, Attorney General, Robert Drury, John Yaxley, and Thomas Appleton, who all agreed to the liberty of the town.

Disputes however arose between the people of Harwich and Ipswich as to the extent of the franchise, and continued until the time of Henry VIII, in the 10th year of whose reign a charter was granted which defined the extent of the Admiralty Jurisdiction.

A copy of this charter, important as respects the Admiralty, will be found in a printed volume of Ipswich Charters, published in 1754, but in order that full information may be afforded of the authority on which the Admiralty Jurisdiction of Ipswich is founded, the portion relating to the subject is now given in the form of an abstract.

The document bears date at Westminster, March 3rd, in the 10th year of the king's reign, and describes the bounds of the river and the port thus:—"And whereas the port of the town aforesaid, and the water running and returning as the case shall happen, from the same port by the flow and ebb of the sea towards the South-east at a certain place called Polleshead, and also all the land and soil, which by such flow and ebb of the sea at any time shall be overflown or covered with water, are within the liberty of the town aforesaid, and from whereof the memory of man hath not been to the contrary." The Charter then proceeds to say, that although this extent had been acknowledged, nevertheless, through certain evil disposed persons by reason of the ambiguity of former charters cunningly alleged, the Bailiffs had been frequently disquieted and disturbed concerning the enjoyment of their liberties; and on account of the "singular love" which the king bore towards the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the town, and moreover, being willing to do away with such ambiguities and doubts, he now declared and notified, that the said port and the water running by the flow and ebb of the sea, from the said port towards the South-east, unto the said place called the Polleshead, and all the land and soil overflown by the sea, though before that period such land had not been parcel of the liberty of the town, be annexed and united by these presents to the said liberty, with power to the Bailiffs, Burgesses, &c. to have and to hold them. The king also granted that the Bailiffs, Burgesses and Commonalty should be Admirals for the king throughout the town, precinct, suburb, water and course of the water, and the land and soil overflown by the flow and ebb of the sea, exercising their right as well upon the sea as on the sea shore,

in as ample a manner and form as any Admiral of England; and that no Admiral of England should be allowed to interfere with these local rights. The Charter then, for the purpose of more ample grace, and for the relief and improvement of the town which was said to be impoverished, and in aid of the fee-ferm grants the Bailiffs, &c. both fletson and jetson, and also all goods lost in the sea, found and thrown from the sea, with deodands within the liberty of the town both by land and water.

This Charter was fully recognized in the 11th year of Henry VIII, when Thomas Earl of Surrey, the Lord High Admiral of England, by warrant under his hand and under the Admiralty's seal dated 10th February, called upon the Bailiffs of Ipswich to shew by what title they claimed to have Admiral Jurisdiction, and having examined divers charters and other records produced by the Bailiffs, certified that it clearly appeared that the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the said town had full power and authority to make within the said town liberties and precincts, all things that to the said office of the Admiralty did appertain. And as by the king's letters patent that then had been granted, the High Admiral therefore commanded his deputies and other officers of the Admiralty to permit and suffer the Bailiffs, their successors, and their officers, from thenceforth peaceably to enjoy, use, and occupy, all that to their office of the Admiralty belonged, without any interruption whatsoever to be made.

This grant is as follows:—

"Graunte made by Thom̃s Erle of Surrey, Grette Admyralle of England, concernyng the Jurisdicc̃on Admyrall, w̃tin the Libertyes of the Town off Ippiswiche.

" I, Thomas Erle of Surrey and Greate Admyrall of England, To all my Deputies, Admynystriours and others officers of the said Admyralte and to evy of theym send greatyng in God ev̄lastynge signyfyeng unto you that I of late have called before me and my lernyd Counceill the Bailies of the kyngl. town and porte of Yippiswiche in the County of Suff. willing theym to shew and declare tofore me and my said Counceyll by what warraunt and tytle the said Baylies, Burg̃es, Com̃altie do p̃tend to clayme to have Jurisdicc̃ion Admyrall, and alle that to th' office of Admyraltie dothe app̃taign as well withyn the said town as from the porte therunto a place called the Polleshed, whereuppon the said Baylys with their Counceil lernyd exhybut and shewed before me and my said Counceyll dyvers Chr̃es as well made unto their predecessours of dyv̄s Lib̃ties to theym g̃untted by the kynges most noble p̃genitors as dyv̄s Chr̃es of confirmacions made of and uppon the same by the kinge my Sovraigne Lord that nowe is by whyche Chr̃es and other Recordys by theym then shewed, it did clerely appear unto me and my said lernyd Counseyll that the seid Bailies, Burgeis, and Comaltie have full poyo'r and auctorite to make within the said town libertye and p'cyncte of the same all things that to the offyce of Admyralte do appertaigne, and that non other Admyralle of the kynge my said Soveraigne Lord nor of his heyrs, nor ther deputies or sirvaunts of the said Admyrall should interrupte nor medle within the said town liberties subberbys and p̃cynct of the same for any cause or mater to the same office of Admyrall concernyng, and that the port of the town aforesaid and the water runnyng and comyng as the case chauncythe from the same port by flowying and ebbynge of the see against the South-east to a certain

place called Polleshede aforesaid, and that all the ground and soyle which by the said ebbynge and flowyng of the sea aforesaid any time overflowen or cover'd with water out of tyme of mynd of man, is and hath been knowyn and taken as p'cel and w^t^ in the lib'tie and p'cincte of the said town and that the same place from the South-east unto Polleshede aforesaid by the kyng's lr's patentes that now is, is made, annexed, and used as p'cell of the said town lib'ties and p'cyncte, and that the same Baylies, Burgeis, and Com'altie, and their successours shall have and enjoye in the same place from the Southe-easte unto the Polleshede aforesaid all their Fraunchesys, Lib'ties, Grn'tys tofore made unto them. Wherefor I not wyllyng in noo part to int'upt the said Bailies and their successours of their lib'ties and fraunchesys aforesaid to theym grntted and by them usid in the place aforesaid, will and commaund you and evry of you to suffer and p'mytte the said Bailies, their successours and their officers from hensforth peasibly to enjoye, use, and occupye as well w^t^ in the said town and port as in the place aforesaid from the said port South-east unto Polleshede aforesaid, all that to the office of Admyralte belongithe, without any interruppcion or let therein or any part thereof by yowe or any of yow from hensforth to be made. And that ye nor non of you from hensforth w'thin the said town liberties and p'cynct of the same, nor placis aforesaid doo intermedle with the office of Admyralte as ye will annswere at your own p'yll. Gevyn under my seale and syne the 17th day of February, in the 11th yere of king Henry the Eighth. P'vided alwayes that I the said Admyrall may take maryners to doo the king service at any tyme that it shall please me, any of the premisses notwithstandyng w'thin the said liberties."

A provision it is seen was attached, that the High Admiral might take mariners to do the king's service at any time it should please him.

It does not appear that the frequent obstructions offered to the rights of the Bailiffs prevented their holding Admiralty courts along the whole line of their jurisdiction. These courts can be traced back long before the time of Henry VIII.

In this king's reign we find Admiralty Courts held in the 17th, 25th, 27th, 28th, and 35th years. Presentments were made by the juries of hogsheads of wine found on the high seas, against the inhabitants of Harwich for taking anchorage under Langar, of a man being drowned at Langar Fleet, upon wreck cast upon shore, of porpoises found, of affrays as to the possession of fish garths or wears, and of ballast thrown on the ouze at Walton, and the Polleshead.

Admiralty courts were also held in the 1st, 4th, 5th, and 6th of Edward VI, in which felonies were presented.

In 1556 (Philip and Mary) the jury of this court presented that an anchor had been found, and a barrel of "aqua vita" discovered at a place called Sylley.

In the reign of Elizabeth, fifteen persons were presented and amerced 12*d.* each for carrying away under sized fish.

In 1573, the Bailiffs having seized a ship called the Bull to the use of the town, the Lord High Admiral claimed property therein by reason of a former seizure, out of this liberty, and required the ship might be delivered up to one George Skimer, a servant of the queen, who was sent for that purpose. At an assembly of the corporation, assent was given to the demand, upon condition that the ship should

be re-delivered to the lawful owners, the late owners having been apprehended within the town upon a suspicion of piracy. And the persons apprehended, be attainted for this their unlawful act.

Many presentments were made at this period, exhibiting the nature of the local Admiralty Jurisdiction.

A person was fined for receiving four salmon into his house, and not bringing them to the Bailiff.

The Widow Huggett released her right in an old ship called the James, which was seized by the serjeant of the Admiralty for being laden with corn in a time of dearth, and sunk in the Haven.

A seaman of Rye, a member of the Cinque Ports, was amerced for refusing to pay his anchorage.

In 1581, a presentment was made that Amy Davy had found a ship's boat, and had failed to inform the Admiralty.

The jury presented that on sailing the water boundaries, a person standing on the shore, and being charged to keep the queen's peace, answered, "——on the queen's peace."

In 1616 (James I.) a whale which had been cast upon the land near Langar, against the manor of Walton, was seized by the Admiralty, but Sir Robert Floyer demanded the animal for the crown as a manorial right. A process was issued from the high court of Admiralty, to which the Bailiffs put in an appearance, and were ordered to advise with counsel concerning the town, for defence of the suit and for the retention of the whale.

The issue of this dispute is unknown, but in the Chamberlain's accounts of the year 1617, is evidence that twelve months after its commencement, it was still unsettled, as 19*s.* 6*d.* was paid for a journey to

Harwich, to make enquiries "concerning the whale."

In 1622, seven hogsheads of wine were picked up within the Admiralty Jurisdiction. The Bailiffs took possession of the vinous treasure-trove, but exacted a sum of £3 10*s.* from the unfortunate finder, one Charles Paynter, an inhabitant of Woolverstone, salving their own conscience and quieting his anxiety as to future process, by agreeing to indemnify him from all further proceedings.

In 1667, the Admiralty made an order that if any person should dig at Downham Bridge, or otherwise break the soil between high and low water mark, they should be sued at the charge of the town, and all masters of ships and others, should have notice given them thereof by the water Bailiff.

From the 12th of Henry VIII, to the 22nd of Elizabeth, Admiralty Courts have been held at the undermentioned places, as being within the bounds of the Admiralty Jurisdiction.

At Nova Scotia, Bourne Bridge, the Red Gates, Woolverstone, these without dates.

Pin Mills, 1546, 1549, 1552, 1561, 1589—this last before Thomas Talbot, and Anthony Styles, within high water mark.

Shotley, 1568, 1576, 1578, 1581, and 1628. Downham Reach in May and November 1647.

Nacton, 1547, 1577, and 1582.

Walton under Langar, at Polleshead, 1536, before the Bailiffs.

Langar Point, 1639, by appointment of the Bailiffs, who were to retain some civil lawyer to be counsel for the town and to hold the court.

Walton, 1584, 1598, and 1629.

Courts held within the Admiralty, but places not mentioned, Henry VIII, 12th, 27th, and 29th years—

Edward VI, 2nd, 4th and 6th years—Philip and Mary, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 6th years—Elizabeth, 6th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 20th, 22nd, 24th, 29th, 30th, 32nd, 36th, 37th, 41st, (in which three courts were held,) and 42nd years.

The articles to be enquired of at the Admiralty Courts included—

What felonies have been committed upon or within any foreign or strange ships or vessels at anchor within the port.

Accessaries to such felonies, or the aiding or receiving any pirate, or boat containing goods from pirates, or goods coming to the realm other than by lawful means of merchandise.

The knowledge of piracy or other felony concealed or not betrayed to an official person.

Spoil by violence upon ship, boat, anchor, or other goods; fish from net or line, wears, oyster pits, and breakage of net or lines.

Severe usage of servants at sea, and unshippage of seamen before conclusion of voyage.

Trespasses upon buoys, anchors, cables, abuse of boats, and making use against owner's will.

Forestall of victual or merchandise.

Nuisance of mills, stakes or stanks, and the passage of water hindered.

Unshipment of ballast upon the land, above full sea mark.

Interruption of the court, by persons deciding matters, within the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty.

Impleading or indicting persons in any other court, upon matters belonging to the Admiralty.

All usurpations upon the liberty.

Concealment of knowledge by Admiralty Jurors.

Presentment of the goods of traitors, felons, fugitives, outlaws, or such as are exigent for felony.

Of felo de se within Admiralty.

Of royal fishes, goods, and jewels, found on dead bodies.

Wrecks within the salt water, being fletson and jetson, and all goods forfeited and belonging to the Admiral.

The presentment of all persons usurping the royalties of the town and concealing the same.

The Admiralty Courts appointed its stewards and council. In 1565, Mr. Burgess, Proctor of the Admiralty, was retained as counsel to keep the Admiralty in the jurisdiction of the town. The fee was fixed at £4 yearly, with payment of his charges when holding the courts.

In 1578, the High Admiral of England appears to have interfered with the local jurisdiction, and threatened to set fines upon the inhabitants of Wolverston, Chelmondiston, and Shotley, for making presentments at the Admiralty Courts of Ipswich. The assembly ordered that if any such fines should be set, persons charged should be absolved therefrom.

In the 8th, 9th, and 11th of Elizabeth, the Lord High Admiral caused processes to be issued for attaching or arresting the Bailiffs for acts done by them respecting the grant of the Admiralty of the town. The Bailiffs however determined to obey no order than such emanating from the Town Clerk by advice of the Master of the Rolls and Master of Requests.

In 1581, Dr. William Goldingham was chosen to be counsel of this town for the Admiralty Court, and to have a yearly fee of 40*s*. Maurice Harvey and William Richards were appointed at the prayer of the Jury to be Supervisors of the whole channel.

In 1586, Francis Talbot and Antony Styles held an Admiralty Court, and divers persons in Chelmondiston having been vexed with processes of the High Admiralty for doing service to the Admiralty of the town, the Corporation ordered their charges to be paid out of the Town Treasury.

In 1615, Thomas Talbot, (D.C.L.) was appointed to succeed Mr. John Talbot, deceased, in the stewardship of the Admiralty Court, and to have a fee of 40*s.* with perquisites of office.

In 1672, Thomas Dade, the elder, appears to have had £10 paid him for keeping the Court of Admiralty, and to have yearly in future 40s. for his fee. His salary being in arrear, £20 was ordered to be paid him by the Chamberlain, and he was required to deliver up all books and papers in his custody respecting the Admiralty Court.

Like most corporate proceedings, the Admiralty Courts do not appear to have been held without some attention to feasting. In 1605, the Corporation paid for an Admiralty Court dinner £5 5*s.* 0*d.* In 1610, for a dinner at Pin Mill the following sums:—To the Bailiffs £1 6*s.* 0*d.*; for wine 9*s.* 3*d.*; to the Jury £1 6*s.* 8*d.*; and to other officers 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Bailiffs were continually molested in holding the Admiralty Courts, and the rights of this local Admiralty and the extent of the liberties of the town, continued to prove a fruitful source of litigation till within comparatively a few years of our own time.

In 1656 we find the authorities of the town drawing up a case upon the extent of their jurisdiction, and submitting it to two learned counsel—John Exton and William Turner. The statement includes all matters connected with the disputed right, and the advice

returned appears to be in full accordance with the liberties set forth in the charter of Henry VIII. These disputes led to the issue of a commission dated 1680, by warrant from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, directed to the Bailiffs of the town, the Mayor of Colchester, the Mayor of Maldon, and other gentlemen, reciting, that as the extent and privileges of Ipswich had become unbounded and unlimited, that wharfs, quays, creeks, and convenient places had become useless and inconvenient, a survey should be made, and the extent of the jurisdiction and places of customed resort be laid down and made plain. By virtue of this commission, the extent of the Ports of Ipswich, Harwich, and Colchester were defined, and as the contending parties against the Admiralty of Ipswich had generally been the men of Harwich, it might naturally be inferred that the enquiry settled all doubts. This does not appear to have been the result, for as the water liberty of the Port of Ipswich, from the old Custom House to the most seaward point of Polleshead, included within it a large portion of the tongue of land on which the Town of Harwich stood, and as on each occasion of sailing the liberties, the Bailiffs of Ipswich took boat from Shotley Ferry, landed at Harwich, passed through the town, and then took boat towards Polleshead, a source of disturbance existed at every visit. The commission therefore failed in its chief object, and the old rivalry and contention continued to flourish.

Without further reference to ancient legal disputes, we will call attention to some of the more modern suits upon these questions, where information is less imperfect with regard to the evidence adduced than in older litigation.

In the year 1736, John Fennings, the Water Bailiff

of Harwich, distrained Edward Warren, a wherryman, for the dues of groundage at a place called the Slip Way, close to the quays of that town. Two actions brought against Fennings were defended by the Corporation of Harwich; but that body not being able to prove any right or title to receive dues in the place in question, it being within the Ipswich line just mentioned, verdicts were given for the plaintiff.

In 1776, the two Corporations came into collision upon the following circumstances. One of the Water Bailiffs of Harwich came on board a vessel called the John and Elizabeth, lying at anchor at the mouth of the river Stour, between Ouse Point and the corner store-house. This officer demanded fourpence of the master for his anchorage, which was immediately paid, the captain taking a printed receipt for the same. The Corporation of Ipswich brought an action to recover the money, as paid for the use of the defendants, the Corporation of Harwich.

This case was heard at the Essex Assizes, held at Chelmsford, on the 13th of August, 1778, before Sir James Eyre, Knight, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

On the part of the plaintiffs—the Corporation of Ipswich—it was proved, that for 60 years past they had constantly received the duties of anchorage and groundage in the place out of which the disputed right arose—producing their charter, the 10th of Henry VIII, to prove their right. Several ancient witnesses also proved that in performing the perambulations of Ipswich, they had crossed from the land at Shotley Ferry, landed at Harwich, and then re-embarked and proceeded in a direct line to Polleshead. The anchorage over which the Corporation of Ipswich had assumed a right was included within this line,

and as the bounds of Harwich were outside the line, the Water Bailiff of the latter Corporation had trespassed in demanding toll.

The Corporation of Harwich shewed they had collected toll on the spot for the space of 60 years, but produced no charter of right.

The Court returned a verdict for the plaintiffs—the Corporation of Ipswich.

The Corporation of Harwich, not feeling satisfied with the judgment of the Court, moved the Court of Queen's Bench for a new trial on the 28th of November, 1778, but the application was refused, the Court being of opinion that the right of the Corporation of Ipswich had been made clear, and that the boundaries by water extended in a direct line from Ipswich to Polleshead, that being the true construction of the charter granted to the town by 10th Henry VIII.

It is now clearly understood that the Corporation possesses a right of franchise, if not a right of soil, over all land between high and low water mark upon the whole extent of the Admiralty Jurisdiction as now set out. Disputes, however, still continue between the two Corporations, both acting upon their presumed franchise, and levying anchorage dues upon the masters of all vessels who will concede to the request.

The river Orwell, which runs from the town to the sea, according to the Inquisition given at page 134, is stated to derive its name from a spring at Erewell, near Rattlesden, where it takes its rise. Morant, the historian, calls this river the Arwan, and considers it was known under that name to the Saxons. If so, it is scarcely probable that its title had been derived from its source, but that it arose from another origin. Indeed this is far more probable, when it is consi-

dered that between the estuary called the Orwell and the village of Rattlesden, is a stream called the Gipping, which may be traced to the parish of that name as one of its sources.*

The origin of the name of Orwell, as also the attempts to define the "port of Orwell," have hitherto been a vexed question capable of different explanations, each of them on good and fair grounds. It has been considered that the river took its name not from any inland source, but from a town or port called Orwell, seated on land once jutting into the sea, at the confluence of the river with the ocean. The "port of Orwell" is frequently mentioned in early rolls; and in the Brantingham roll of 1370 is found the following entry, which seems distinctly to decide the existence of a town called Orwell:—"Paid on the 9th day of July, to William Whyteman, Lord Ralph Poley (the Vice-Admiral of the western parts) to Hugh Fastolf, the *Mayor* and *Bailiffs* of *Orewell*, the Mayor and Bailiffs of Ipswich and Harwich, 40*s*. for the payment of couriers sent to various parts of England to make proclamations to the men of the retinue of Robert Knolles to hasten to the ports of Rye and Winchelsea, to embark with the said Robert."

The upholders of the notion that the port of Orwell was a separate town, and not a line of sea or river bound, have certainly some grounds of a reasonable nature for the support of their supposition. In Rymer, under the date of 1370, it is found that on the 22nd of March in that year, a writ was addressed to the Sheriff, ordering necessaries to be provided at "Villa de Orwell" so that the troops be not delayed.

It is scarcely possible however to conceive, that although extracts distinctly point to the *town* of

* See page 1.

Orwell, that its ruin through antiquity, or inundation by the sea, could happen without some particulars of the catastrophe being preserved. No mention is made of the destruction of Orwell, though the destruction of Dunwich is recorded.* We cannot doubt that both the coasts of Suffolk and Essex have suffered the direst changes. Not less than 500 yards of land and shingle jutting into the sea at Langar, have fallen a prey to the restless element continually chafing these shores. Extensive abrasions of the coast have taken place on both sides of the Orwell also at former periods, but it is not possible that the destruction of a whole town could have happened, from any cause whatever, and no record of the occurrence been handed down to posterity.

Several arguments in favour of the existence of the town of Orwell, are found in the papers of Morant, the well known historian of the town of Colchester. The opinions held by him on this curious question were gathered from his papers after his decease, and presented in the shape of a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. Myres, and Mr. Astle.†

The conclusions of Mr. Morant are however by no means conclusive. After stating his opinion that the town of Orwell stood upon the point of a long neck of land extending from the Ness or Naze in Essex, six or seven miles into the sea, he at once owns that in all accounts hitherto known of the place, it has been reported to stand on the Suffolk coast. This error however it is considered as likely to occur, because the Naze land, extending nearly to the point called Langar Point, and thus equally South-easterly as the general coast of Suffolk, Orwell might be considered to stand as much in one county as in the other. After

* See *Gardner's History of Dunwich.* † Read May 19, 1791.

stating this supposition, and also remarking that the river Orwell found its way across the low grounds towards Bull's Cliff, Felixtow, instead of its present channel, Mr. Morant proceeds to say, that the town of Orwell stood at the place called the West Rocks, where large ruins were in his time to be seen at low water. Ruins of brick work, square stones, and other indications of low buildings were also descried, as also broken tiles. From a town at this point, called Orwell, he does not hesitate to say that the inhabitants of Suffolk and Essex shipped their commodities, as corn, and other grain, for foreign markets, in order to supply the Roman garrisons upon the continent (so ancient does he make the town of Orwell) and must have been rich and populous when it was plundered and destroyed by the Danes; and that upon the misfortunes of these attacks, as also the encroachments of the sea, Harwich from a small village became populous, and a town of considerable note. He also adds, that whether the river altered its course from running into the sea near Walton cliffs, to where it now does betwixt Harwich and Langar beach, immediately upon the demolition of Orwell town, or was a work of time, is very uncertain; but he does not hesitate to affirm, the sea daily washing up the soil and shingle on the Walton point of Bull's Cliff, formed a beach of nearly two miles in length, and by degrees forced the Orwell into the channel where it runs at present. He also gives his opinion to the effect that the present harbour of Harwich, by its smallness, could not possibly be what was formerly meant by the harbour of Orwell. "If so it would *formerly* have been called the harbour of Harwich, which we do not find it was until lately; as the river has likewise, of late days, been called the river of Ipswich,

and has been known by no other name by the inhabitants of Suffolk, till the present Lord Orwell thought proper to call his pleasant seat and park at Nacton, Orwell Park, by the ancient name of the said river, on whose banks they are situated."*

The port of Orwell was without doubt the whole of that part of the entrance of the river known as the harbour of Harwich, with a considerable line of sea bound on the Suffolk coast. Very probably the port included the whole of the river Orwell, perhaps the town of Ipswich; and we can only regard the mention made of the town of Orwell, as one of those errors, which on being found, tend to raise doubts and misgivings in the mind of the antiquary, not easily to be subdued.

Further proof in support of the opinion that the port of Orwell included the whole river and the town of Ipswich, is found in the Great Court Books. In the 16th of Elizabeth a Committee of the Burgesses was appointed, whose duties were to make further regulations relative to wares and merchandise coming to the port of Orwell.

* *Archæologia* vol. 10, p. 358.

CORPUS CHRISTI GUILDS AND PAGEANTS.

HE incorporation of the town by the Charter of John being accomplished, a Merchant Guild arose in the community, which afterwards, extending its power and usefulness, became joined with and known as the Guild or Guilds of Corpus Christi.

The exact period when the religious festival and processions of Corpus Christi became connected with the trading Guilds of this country is uncertain. The institution of the festival itself, dates from the year 1262, when it was appointed by Pope Urban to be held annually on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday. At Rome, of course the proceedings of the day were of the most solemn character, and the gorgeous nature of the procession beyond ordinary description. Ambassadors, Prelates, and the various orders of Monks, joined the holy throng, each bearing a lighted candle or torch, while the Pope himself, clothed in all the wealth of the Papal wardrobe, took his station in the line, and bore the pyx with the sacred elements, in his own hands.*

* *Picart's Religious Ceremonies.*

It is not improbable that the introduction of the Corpus Christi feasts into England, took place many years later than their establishment at Rome. They most probably reached this country about the year 1300, and became an adjunct to the large Guilds of the kingdom with a rapidity natural to all religious ceremonials of the Papacy. The date of the introduction of Corpus Christi processions into Ipswich is 1325, as ascertained by a copy of the Guild Charter extant in the local Domesday Book.

The entries connected with the processions and shows of the Guilds, in the Great Court books, are exceedingly numerous. From these manuscript accounts, it is found that, like the religious processions of other towns, they were conducted with considerable splendour, and commanded the attendance of the monkish inmates of the two priories, and the brotherhood of the various friaries, the parish priests within the distance of 15 miles, the trading companies, and the corporate officers of the town. No manuscript drama performed on these public occasions has however been found, either among the muniments of the Corporation or in private hands. The play of "King Johan," by John Bale,* believed originally to have been the property of the Corporate body, has been suggested as probably one of the moralities performed at the time of holding the Guild. Many objections however exist against this supposition, but without entering minutely into the question, it is sufficient to state, that if applied to the purpose, it was at a late

* King Johan has been published by the Camden Society. The manuscript was found among some old papers said to have belonged to the Corporation of Ipswich. The date when first written is supposed to be 1552, although the composition shews interpolations of a later date, by the mention of persons and circumstances.

era. The drama has, however, a fatal objection to its use—it is too lengthy to be performed before an audience excited by a series of representations, (the pageants journeying from one point to another in quick succession) or the pomp and circumstance of procession, and anxious for the enjoyment of the feast which awaited them at the Sociary of the Guild.

The incipient formation of the Merchant Guild was the old Hanse, which afterwards expanded into the Guild Merchant under John, and was ratified by his charter* in 1199, an hundred and twenty-five years before any connection with the ecclesiastics. The local Domesday affords a minute insight into the primary proceedings of the original fraternity.† This venerable document records that in the 2nd of John, upon Thursday after the Feast of Fidas, one Alderman of the Guild was elected by the Common Council of the town, namely, William Gosecalk, and four others also, namely, Peter Everard, John le Mayster, Roger Lew, and John de Saint George, who together with the Aldermen were sworn, that well and faithfully they would govern the Guild Merchant in the town of Ipswich, and observe all the articles to the Guild

* See page 76.

† The high antiquity of Guilds is undoubted. The Saxons had Gilds of peculiar constitution, and the Normans introduced into this country another description of Guild more in conformity with their own customs. It seems evident, however, that the Guild of John, as seen by the proceedings which follow the reception of his charter (see page 81) in Ipswich, was of Saxon character, and governed by an Alderman, the name of which officer is continued in all proceedings down to the final extinction of the body. It might be argued, therefore, that the town of Ipswich possessed a Guild Merchant before John, and the permission to have a Guild Merchant expressed in his charter was rendering legal that which had previously existed as a custom. (See *Maddox's Firma Burgi* and *Herbert's Livery Companies.*)

pertaining. Afterwards it was declared by the Alderman and his four associates, in the presence of the people, that all who were of the liberty should come before them at a certain day, when they would make known the mode and order whereby they might form themselves into a Guild, and to unite their hanse to the said Guild.*

This of course completes the original constitution, and this done, the Corporate body proceeded to elect the first Guildholders and members of the general fraternity† as follows:—

On Wednesday after the feast of St. Catherine the Virgin, in the 2nd year of John, the following Foreign Burgesses (that is persons not dwelling in the town) were elected of the Guild.

The Lord Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshall of England, became a Burgess of the town in the Hall of the Prior of St. Peter, and gave to the Guild Merchant an ox and a bull, with two quarters of wheat, and two quarters of malt, for which both himself and his villains should be quit of toll of corn purchased by him in the markets of the town; and also what produce of the like nature he shall sell in the town markets, if grown upon his own lands. It was reserved, however, that he should pay 4*d.* annually for his "kay," and that such of his villains who were merchants should pay the ferm and customs upon their merchandise.

On the same day, Lord Robert de Vaux, one of the Knights of the Earl of Norfolk, was made one of the Guild for a quarter of wheat, and in consideration

* See pages 83 and 84.

† These "Burgesses" were free men—men free of the town for trading purposes. It was afterwards that their "mysteries" were protected.

that both himself and his villains living at Wenham should be free of toll in Ipswich, he covenants to give yearly, upon the feast of St. Michael, 4*d.* in money, and two bushels of wheat to the ferm of the king.

Lord Gilbert Peche is also made one of the Guild upon gift of a quarter of wheat.

In the 5th year of John, it is found that other foreign Burgesses were made. Among them were the Lord Roger de Montalt, who covenants to give to the ferm 4*d.* and two bushels of wheat yearly, to free both himself and villains living in Framsden, from the toll of the town. Lord Hugh de Rous gave a bull and a quarter of wheat to the Hanse. He also covenanted to pay yearly 8*d.* and 4 bushels of wheat to free his villains in Akenham, Hemingstone, Hasketon, Henley, and elsewhere, from toll levied. Lord William de Freney gives two sheep and 12 capons, and to free his villains in "Russchemere and Bresete" from toll, he covenants to pay yearly 4*d.* in money and 2 bushels of wheat. Gilbert de Reymes gives to the Hanse a quarter of malt, and 4*d.* and 2 bushels of wheat yearly, that his villains in Whersted should be quit of toll.

In the 18th of the reign of Henry III, the following noble persons were placed on the Roll of Burgesses, and exempted from the toll on corn, and all other things growing upon their own lands, and of things bought for their own use; (they were also "to be in no wise at lot and scot" in the common tallages of the town)—the Lord William de Rous, for himself and villains in Akenham, Hemingstone, Hasketon, and elsewhere—the Lord Geoffrey de Badele, for himself and villains in Brok*—Robert de Gosbeck, for himself

* The manor of Brooks or Brokes Hall.

and villains in Gosbeck, Brightwell, and elsewhere—John de Brockynge for himself and villains—Geoffrey de Dodenesch to be quit of custom for his own granary—William de Crepping became a Burgess—and Philip de Freston, for the like immunity, paid 4*d.* and 4 bushels of oats.

In the 24th year of the same reign, the Lord Hugh Peche became a Burgess, and himself and villains in Belinges were absolved from payment of toll. The Lord Geoffrey de Burnaville, Robert de Freney, Robert de Bosco, Richard de Benhall, Robert de Aula, and Gilbert de Reymes also became of the Guild.

In the 27th year of the reign of the same monarch, as foreign Burgesses, were made William de Wayland, William de Goldingham, Hugh Jernegan, Robert de Peyford (or Pleyford), William de Bretoun, and Robert de Reydon.

In the 36th year, Ralph de Hereford became a Foreign Burgess, William de Asch, John Bertelmen, of Thodenham (Tuddenham) John de Westerfield, John de Ermyse, and John Thede.

The immunities granted these Burgesses appear to have been continued to their immediate heirs upon re-payment of the original gifts. Some Burgesses, however, were elected for life, without right of continuance to their issue. In the 31st and 32nd years of Henry III, Robert de Codenham, Warin Lambert, Martin de Clynk, Herbert de Tenebergh, and the Lord Nicholas de Sperkeforde, were made Burgesses for the period of their lives only.

After this period it is found the purchase of freedom from toll becomes changed. In the 40th of Henry III, William, Prior of the Holy Trinity, gives to the town one mark towards the expenses of the new Charter, a bushel of wheat, and one of malt to

the town. In the 56th of Henry III, Adam de Aula, of Cleydon, paid five shillings to the commonalty, and two shillings to the Bailiffs for freedom. In the 11th of Edward I, Robert de Reydone, Lord of Reydone, when made a Burgess, proffered a pipe of wine to the commonalty; and a payment of 4*d.* in money and two bushels of wheat, to the ferm of the town. In the 26th year of Edward I, the Lord John de Beaumont, and *Alice his wife*,* were made Burgesses, and gave to the Guild of the town two quarters of wheat for themselves, and one quarter of wheat for their villains.

The last payment appears to mark the conclusion of the secular existence of the Guild. Twenty-eight years after, namely, the 19th of Edward II, the community is found passing into the patronage, if not the administration of the church, losing its ancient title, and becoming known by the name of the Guild of Corpus Christi.

In that year (1290) the Priors of the Priories of the Holy Trinity, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, calling together the old Guild, with the parish priests and laity of the town, made a Constitution of this Corpus Christi.† It stated, that for the honour of God, &c. and for the commemoration of the institution of the sacrament of the body of Christ, on Wednesday, upon the festival of the Apostles Philip and

* Women were very generally admitted to these Guilds. In the accounts of the Guild of Brewers, in London, are the names of thirty-nine females, who were entitled to wear the livery of the Guild. These female members appear to have been divided into three classes, maids, wives, and widows. They paid 12*d.* quarterly to the Guild.—*Herbert.*

† Taken from the Constitution of the Guild, entered in Domesday Book.

James, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and twenty-five, they ordained a brotherhood between themselves and the laity called the Merchant Guild, for present and future times, (God granting duration,) and conceding with the consent of the lay brethren, that all ordinances should be well and faithfully observed. They then add, that every year upon the fifth day (holiday) after the eighth of Pentecost, the church being decorated for sacrament, and especially supplied with garlands fresh cut, they should assemble at the ninth hour, or immediately afterwards, in the church of St. Trinity in Ipswich, clothed in silk garments, or others suitable, and going before the cross, join the procession with a standard, making a shew to excite the greater number of the faithful, and add to the confusion of heretics. With the tabernacle especially appointed to the procession, in which the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ should be contained, and proceeding through the church of St. Peter with the monks of that priory, they should return to the church of Trinity, and there the solemnity be dismissed. The next year the procession was ordered to be prepared at the church of St. Peter, and not Trinity.

The ecclesiastics having taken the old Guild under their especial care, the following rules were made:—

That every parish priest, and each lay brother residing in the town, with those whose habitations did not exceed five leagues distance from the Guild Hall, were commanded to attend the procession on forfeit of half a pound of wax, except permission be given for absence.

The ornaments and pageants of the procession being of a costly nature, if bad weather happened upon Corpus Christi day, the shew should cease until the next year.

In order that the cherished right of so celebrated a sacrament should remain, it was ordained that every year, in the presence of the Guild, who should be called together by the beadle of the town, certain religious ceremonies should be performed in the church of St. Mary Tower, and thirteen impoverished persons being selected, their feet should be washed, and alms bestowed upon them.

The beadle of the town was, when necessary, ordered to proclaim the death of each member of the Guild; and on the day of burial, the services of the church were ordered to be rendered the deceased, and to continue until the body be deposited in the grave.

Thirteen wax candles were allowed out of the funds of the Guild upon obsequies of its members; and in order that this debt of light should be kept up, contributions of wax were ordered to be made from the general body.

Masses were ordered to be said for the repose of the souls of priests and laity, both within and out of the town, upon certification of death, under peril of the souls of those priests of the Guild who refused to celebrate.

The body then agree that the government of the Guild should be under two of the laity styled Aldermen, who should be answerable to the Bailiffs and Portmen every year concerning all things relating to the Guild.*

The Guild of Corpus Christi thus constituted, appears to have progressed and flourished for many years without change, until at length from circumstances undetailed (perhaps falling into disuetude) it was found necessary to ordain a fresh recital of its

* Charter of Constitution, in Domesday.

powers and customs for more comprehensive and attentive purposes. A new ordinance (undated) though believed to be of the time of Henry VII, states, that when, amongst other constitutions of the town of Ipswich, it had been a custom from time immemorial to have a Guild of priests to pray and celebrate, both for the welfare and good state of the Merchant Guild, otherwise the Guild of Corpus Christi, and the souls of the brethren and sisters who had departed life, it was well known that the Aldermen caused nine marks every year to be paid to the priest as his salary and stipend. It was moreover provided that the brethren and sisters should annually "with sad and mournful garments" meet at St. Mary of the Tower upon the Sabbath-day next following the feast of Corpus Christi, at the first hour after noon, to pray for the souls of all the brethren of the Guild. On the next Sabbath following the festival, all the brethren and sisters were ordered to meet, at nine o'clock before noon, to hear mass for the souls of the brethren that had departed this life. They were also to feast together at the Guild Hall, each brother paying 16*d.* for himself and wife. All the brethren to a man remembered also the annual assembly at the church of St. Mary Tower, where, when the funeral offices and masses were said for departed brethren, each Guild man gave a penny to the priest for himself and wife, half of which became the property of the priest of the Guild, and the other half went to the priest of the Church. In default of payment, the forfeiture of half a pound of wax was enacted. All the old observances by this fresh recital appear to be again accepted as the laws to bind the Guild, and brought to mind by reference to what was once the "auncient order."

After these recitals, the records of the town are comparatively silent upon the subject of the Guild, until the year 1444, the 23rd of Henry VI, when it appears that John Causton* was admitted and sworn free Burgess, upon condition that for the next seven years following, he should maintain the ornaments of Corpus Christi pageant† and the stages, receiving the charges thereof from the farmers of the common marsh and the Portmens' meadow, as the Bailiffs for the time being should think meet. The predecessor of Causton, in keeping the pageant, seems to have been John de Caldwell, a member of a family of that name resident at Caldwell Hall, as an order of Great Court was made in the same year that the farmers of the marsh and of the Portmens' meadow should pay him 40*s.* yearly until his *arrears* were satisfied.‡

The trades of Ipswich formed into companies, and attending the processions were:—

"Pewterers, plomers, sadelers, massonnys, tylers, and armerers," under one banner.

* Bacon's MS.

† Probably the rude properties of the drama, otherwise, pageant, is used to denote the stage on which play is performed

‡ From this entry alone, it is clear that upon the day of the procession of Corpus Christi in Ipswich, a dramatic performance was played upon a lofty stage, here as elsewhere. Most probably both authors and actors were, at an early period, members of the monastic fraternities in the town, though afterwards disallowed by authority, and this circumstance will account for the absence of any miracle play, or morality in the papers of the Corporate body. In the absence of decided evidence, it is become impossible to say whether each of the companies into which the trades were drawn, had a *separate* pageant, as in the ancient city of Coventry: or if *one* drama, prepared by the Guild Priest or Monks, was played in various parts of the town, as in York and other places; but it is most likely, judging from the course taken by the procession, that only a *single* drama was performed in a few of the most open localities.

"Goldsmythes, blacksmythes, loksmythes, bladsmythes," under one banner.

"Glasiers, peyntours, carpenters, carvers, bowiers, fletchers, whelewrits, cowpers, patymakers, turnours, &c." under one banner.

"Wevers, ffullers, cappers, hattmakers," under one banner.

"Shoemakers and tanners," under one banner.

"Bochers and talow chandlers," one banner.

"Skynners, glovers, pursers, caulmakers," one banner.

"Clothwokers, drapers, dyers, and shermen," one banner.

"Mercers, poynters, and haberdashers," one banner.

"Mercheants, maryners, and brewers," one banner.

"Bakers and waferers,"* one banner.

Most probably each banner was accompanied by the pageant or dramatic scaffold.

After the trades, followed the various religious orders of the monasteries—lastly, the Bailiffs and Portmen of the town, and then the Aldermen of the Guild.†

The full celebration of Corpus Christi in Ipswich, appears to have lasted three days, and the *procession* (as will be seen more particularly in subsequent

* Ipswich Domesday.

† Most of the banners carried by the trades, though not all, bore the representation of a saint; and it is remarkable, that in the entry of the procession in Domesday Book, in all cases where a saint is mentioned, the name has been defaced. The company of fishmongers, for instance, carry the appropriate emblem of a dolphin, and the merchants a "shippe." These signs are left untouched, but all devices of a religious nature are obliterated. This mischievous act was no doubt perpetrated at the period when the influence of Puritanism and iconoclastic fury prevailed in the borough.

notices) after leaving *St. Lawrence* Church,* passed through the Fish Market to the Corn Hill, and from thence to the Church of St. Mary Tower. It then went to St. Margarett's Green, returning to the Tower Church a second time, where a mass was given. At this church, the procession deposited the sacramental elements for the day, the members of the Guild retiring to the Sociary at the rear of the Hall of Pleas, to partake of the feast. Upon the following day the Guild attended St. Mary Tower Church, and at the close of the services, left in order, passing down Brook Street, thence into the Fish Market, onwards to the Corn Hill, and down Tavern Street to St. Lawrence Church, where, as the description of the route says, "there an end."

In the 10th of Edward IV, 1470, it was ordered that the dinner of the Guild should not exceed 6*d.* to each Burgess, and 4*d.* for his wife. The male members were also ordered to pay for two years 4*d.* per annum as an augmentation of the priests' wages.

* St. Lawrence is not mentioned in the Constitutions. Whether the Corpus Christi plays of Ipswich were performed as often during the feast days as in other places, may perhaps admit of some doubt, because it is certainly to be inferred from the particulars just given, that upon each halt of the procession, a representation of Corpus Christi play took place: that is to say, the performance was only given, after leaving St. Lawrence Church, upon the Corn Hill, and a second time upon St. Margarett's Green. The object of purposely visiting two such wide areas appears to favour this opinion. Were not these points chosen for the exhibition of miracle or morality the procession would most probably have taken the whole circuit of the town, and visited each street in which inhabitants were likely to be found interested in the proceedings of a fraternity not only national, but closely connected with religion. The general rule in other towns appears to have been what has already been mentioned—the pageants divided, and the various plays performed in succession in many places.

Although the day was one of solemn occasion, it is evident that the members of the fraternity entertained themselves not only with substantial viands, but with those things capable of administering to the delight of the senses, for in the same year it is found ordered that the wages of "ffidlers" who might come to the dinner should be gathered of the company present, and not paid either by the town, or out of the coffers of any one of the companies. Music therefore formed a portion of the amusements, which followed the performance of solemn and ceremonious rites.

In the 13th of Edward IV, all the barbers of the town were ordered to be present at Corpus Christi feast with the banner of St. Thomas, and should then chuse their wardens.

On Friday after Holy Rood, in the 19th of Edward IV, John Squier, clerk, was appointed to receive the profit of the millstones during his life, provided he furnished a chaplain to celebrate holy rites in honour of Corpus Christi. Squier was also to find security for the due performance of his office. The profits of the millstones was afterwards to go towards the use of the town.*

About the 22nd of the same reign, the master of the Grammar School appears to have been made Guild Priest, as it is ordered that he should celebrate for the Guild during his life; and in the 4th of Henry VII, the schoolmaster, called Hood or Heed, is allowed 20 marks for celebration from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. From the largeness of the amount, no doubt he was the regularly appointed priest of the Guild.

In the 5th of the same reign, John Squier (men-

* The profits of millstones were the monies obtained by the Bailiffs obliging the inhabitants to grind corn at the town mills. Many regulations of this kind appear in the books.

tioned above) was made farmer of the profits of stones* with Jeffry Osborne and James Hill, for the benefit of Corpus Christi.

In the 7th year, the payment to the Guild was reduced to 8*d.* per annum, at least for that year, and it was ordered that no dinner should be given. The absence of the feast was probably the cause of the reduction. In the 8th year, the payment was again raised to 16*d.* and orders were given to prepare the pageant or stage on which the play was performed. About this period the greatest efforts were used to support the Guild, and John Mixer was acquitted from being elected to the office of Chamberlain upon condition that he should bear half the charges of the stone work of the building on the south of the Moot Hall, for the use of Corpus Christi.

In the 10th of Henry VII, money was granted for the expenses of the pageant, to be levied upon the artificers of the town;† and in the 12th of the same reign, it was made known that every Burgess defaulting in his duties to the Guild, should be summoned by the Wardens of the next Court to shew cause why he should not forfeit his freedom. If he came not to the Court, he was reputed as "foreign"—that is, no Burgess, or no Guild member.

In the 18th of Henry VII, it was ordered that "Corpus Christi pageant should be observed, and a convenient artificer entertained to that end, who should have 40*s.* for his pains." Each Portman was ordered to pay 1*s.* 4*d.* and each of the Twenty-four, 8*d.* The

* This was trade in millstones, and had no connection with the town mills, as surveyors were appointed to value the millstones, and other stones of quarry for the same purpose in the 12th of Henry VII.

† Probably the general companies of traders.

Bailiffs were deprived of power to interrupt or hinder the pageant unless by order of Great Court, or upon special cause, under a penalty of £20.*

In the 20th of Henry VII, upon the Vigil of St. George, "John Stanigelt was allowed 20*s.* 8*d.* yerely for 12 years, to finde the stageing for Corpus Christi play, and to John Parnell, 33*s.* 4*d.* to find the ornaments during suche time." At the same time, Collectors and Assessors were named to gather the expenses of the play. The Guild was sometimes held on Sunday, as in the same year, it was ordered to take place "on the Lord's day after the octaves of Corpus Christi."†

"Yerely obsequies and vigills" were also ordered in the same year to be holden for the death of every brother of the Guild, and "thereat none of the fraternity should be absent under the forfeiture of a pound of waxe."‡

In the 24th of Henry VII, all the inhabitants of the town were ordered to attend at the feast of Corpus Christi under penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* and every one desired to hold the order of their processions according to the Constitutions.

In the 3rd of Henry VIII, Contributions were ordered to be made towards *St. George's* pageant.

In the same year, the dinner and pageant were laid aside, and every free Burgess ordered to pay 8*d.* towards a mass for the souls of all the brothers and sisters in the town.

This period marks a great declension in the prosperity of the Ipswich Guilds, as the play is mentioned

* Attempts had been made to stop the Guild by the authorities.

† The Old Constitution mentions the Guild as meeting upon Sunday.

‡ Vide Constitutions.

as deferred for several years. In the 5th of Henry VIII, for instance, "Corpus Christi play and dinner is againe laide aside." In the 6th year, "Corpus Christi play and dinner laide aside againe." Notices of this kind are continued down to the 22nd Henry VIII, when the following entry is found in Bacon's MSS.—"Corpus Christi play for ever taken away. Corpus Christi play laide for ever aside by order." The Guild, however, appears to be held, and it may be inferred that the play, though ordered to be discontinued by authority, was, after a few years, reproduced to the delight of the brethren and the town.

In the 6th of Henry VIII, all the utensils belonging to the Guild were ordered to be entered in a "booke to be kept safe by John Butler." They appear, from their small number, as probably belonging to one company only, and consisted of a dozen spoons, weighing 11¼ ounces, 5 mazers of silver, weight 40¼ ounces, 5 table cloths, 3 cloths of ¾ cloth, 14 salts, 2 brass pots, 1 pan, a garnish of vessels, 2 chargers, (large dishes), 5 platters, 4 dishes, and 5 saucers.

In the 7th year of Henry VIII, the Guild dinner appears to have been held, but, as before stated, no pageant; and every Burgess was ordered to pay for his dinner "as aunciently hath been used."

In the 11th of Henry VIII, it is found that every person absent from Corpus Christi mass should forfeit a pound of wax, and it is stated, "the play and dinner shall hold this year." Guildmasters were also elected, and the pageants ordered to be ready.

In the same year, entries are found relative to the master of a pageant called the "shipp,"* who was

* The introduction of a ship in the Corpus Christi processions was frequent. In the Chester accounts is the following charge:—"For making anew the merchants mount, as it anciently was, with

commanded to have the same ready under forfeiture of £20; but although this fine is heavy, and every Burgess ordered to provide himself with a murrey gown before Corpus Christi next to attend the Guild, yet the play was that year laid aside until further orders.

In the 30th of Henry VIII, Thomas Seledene, the "old master of Corpus Christi" was elected, with Thomas Shapted to be his companion.

In the 32nd of Henry VIII, appear regulations for the Corpus Christi processions to this effect:— "All persons shall bring the sacrament of Corpus Christi from Lawrence Church towarde the Fish Market to the Corn Hill, and soe to the Tower Church and there shall hear a masse, and on the next day shall bring the same from the same church through the Brooke Strete into the Fish Market and Corn Hill, and soe to Lawrence Churche, and there an end. And every of the Portmen shall have two torches, and every of the Twenty-four, one torch, and all the torchers shall waite on Sacrament uppon all the said three dayes under forfeiture of 12*d.* for every default. And each Portman torcher shall uppon the same penalty waite uppon the Sacrament uppon the Sunday."*

The entries which remain to be quoted exhibit much of the "inner life" of these singular institutions of our forefathers. They are taken from the Great Court Books and Bacon's MSS. In the former, the minutes of the orders were of course roughly entered

a *ship* to turn round, the hiring of the boys, and five men to carry it, four pounds." Again—"By this light, I doe not thinke but to be Lord Mayor of London before I die, and have three pageants carried before me, besides a *ship* and an unicorn."—*Tu Quoque*, or *The City Gallant*, 1614.

* This appears to be an order derived from the Constitutions.

at the moment, when the particular business to which they relate was transacted, and were afterwards fairly transcribed by a clerk. The entries made by Bacon were gleaned by him from the same sources, with the addition of the Guild books, items of payments, and of general accounts. Though copious, they by no means exhaust the subject—perhaps the most curious of mediæval history.

1st Edward VI, Wednesday after Corpus Christi, Thomas Wire was elected with Bastian Man* to be Masters of the Mercers' Company, and it was determined that Ralph Goodinge is none of that company.

6th Edward VI, Friday, June 3.—"The Guild shall be holden the *Sunday* after Trinity Sunday yearly, according to the auncient order; and the Communion shall be celebrated at the Tower Churche, beginning at nine of the clocke of the same day; and the Bailiffs and Portmen, and Twenty-four, and the Wardens of the several companies, all of them in their severall habitts and gownes, and them and all the Burgesses shall offer, and the offerings shall go to the poore; the defaulters of the Portmen shall forfait 12*d.* a peece, and of the Twenty-four the forfait shall be 6*d.* and of the Burgesses 4*d.* unless reasonable cause produced. The priest, clark, and sexton shall have theire dinner, and the priest shall have 12*d.* and the clark and sexton 6*d.* eache of them."

During the short reign of Mary, but trifling mention is made of the Guild; and this absence of information continues until the 16th of Elizabeth, when the following order of Great Court appears:—"Item it is

* Bastian Man lived in the parish of St. Lawrence, and signed his name to the statement of approval of the sale of the goods of the Church under the seizure by Commissioners in the 1st year of Edward VI.

agreed that in respect of the grete skarsitie and derthe of all victualle in this realm at this p'sent, the feast of the Guylde M'rchant usually kepte in this towne shal be kepte by the Aldermen of the Guilde in such order and forme as it hathe ben used to be kepte. And that the said Aldermen shall have allowed to them out of the town treasury such some of moneye as shalbe agreed upon at the next Court after the saide feaste made."

In the 17th of Elizabeth, the Guild feast was ordered to be held henceforth upon the *Sunday* fortnight next after Midsummer day; and in the next year, the "occupacions" or trades of the town were newly drawn into companies. At that day they consisted of four only—"Mercers, drapers, tailors, and shoemakers," into which all others merged. The most singular distribution took place. In the Mercers' Company were included all "maryners, shipwryghts, bokebynders, prynters, fyshemongers, swordsetters, coks (cooks), ffletchers, arrowhedmakers, phisitians (?) hatters, cappers, mercers, merchaunts," and several others whose occupations cannot now be defined. The Drapers' Company included "joyners, taylors, carpenters, innholders, ffremasons, bryckelayers, tylers, carryers, casketmakers, surgeons, clothyers," and five others. The Taylors' included, "cutlers, smyths, barbers, chandlers, pewterers, mynstrells, pedlers, plumbers, pynners, millers, millwrights, cowpers, shermen, glasiers, turners, tynkers, taylors, and two others. The Shoemakers' Company numbered "curryers, colermakers, sadlers, poynters, coblers, skynners, tanners, butchers, carters, and labourers." That "phisitians" should be included among the trades at all is curious, and more so because they are found in that of the Mercers' Company. Each Company, it is

ordered, shall have an Alderman and two Wardens. All foreigners coming to the town should, upon becoming members of the Guilds, be distributed among the aforesaid companies at the discretion of the Bailiffs.

This erection of all trades into four companies shews that the Guilds at this period were rapidly on the decline. The mysteries of each could not be worthy of preservation, when "coks and fflet-chers," mingled with "merchaunts and prynters" or "caskettmakers, and surgeons," with "carryers and innholders."

In the 25th Elizabeth, the Great Court ordered that John King, for pageants at the last Guild, and speeches by persons out of a *ship* shall have five marks out of the treasury.

In the 28th of Elizabeth, refusors to pay duties to the Alderman of the Guild were committed to the "Gaole" till payment be made!

On the 11th Sept. 32nd of Elizabeth, the Guild-holders neglected their duty—the Great Court Books recording as follows:—"And forasmuch as John Warde and Henry ——, now Aldermen of the Guild Merchant, disorderly and insufficiently kept and fur-nished the diet of the supper of the last Guild. It is ordered and agreed, that either of them for the default, shall forfeit and pay to the use of the town xx*s.* to be presently paid to the treasury."

We now arrive at a period when the Corpus Christi Guilds were undergoing rapid changes. Monasteries had been long since suppressed, and consequently no monks joined or attended the processions. They had now evidently taken a decidedly downward step from which they could not be rescued.

33rd Elizabeth. "Whereas at the last Greate

Courte, Andrew Durrante was elected Alderman of the Guild Marchante of this towne, to serve with John Warde accordinge to the order. The saide Andrew at this Courte uppon his earnest requeste, and particularly in regarde that he is determyned to dwell out of the towne, he is discharged of the said office for ever from henceforth at this Courte for his fyne of twenty marks. And yet at this Courte, in respecte that he is decayed in his substance, and for the favour of Sir Martin Frobisher beinge his maister, the saide Andrew Durrante shall be remitted to the sume of fyve pounds, so that he paye the saide fyve pounds to the Treasurer for the use of the towne at Midsummer next, which the saide Andrew did accept and promise to make a bonde for paimente. And in stead of the said Andrew Durrante, William Chapman is elected to serve in the saide roome of Aldermanshippe of the Guilde Marchante of this towne, with John Warde, accordinge to the accustomed order."

"And at this Court it is agreed for sundrye reasonable considerations, that the saide Guilde shall be deferred this year until the Sundaye sennight after Midsummer, being the iiijth of Julye next."

"And it is further agreed that there shall be a tierce of wine provided, to be spente at the saide feaste, at the town's charge."

"Item it is agreed that the greate chamber over the Boocherye shall be considered uppon by the Bayliffes, Mr. Cuttler, the elder, and Mr. Smarte, for making fitt of that chamber to sett guests therein at the said feast."*

In the same year, in order to avoid the great increase of "foreainers," orders were framed for reducing the clothiers, clothmakers, weavers, shermen, and

* Great Court Book, No. 1, page 383.

dyers into a fraternity or company, for the regulation of the work, and for the government of apprentices and servants. The clothmakers' book is afterwards stated to be prepared and confirmed under the town seal, and a lease for 11 years given to the company of Tailors of the hall at the Hospital at 13*s.* 4*d.* rent. The clothiers were afterwards allowed a portion of this hall upon the same rent and covenant.

In the 42nd year of Elizabeth, the holding of the Guild was deferred until the next year, and in the 43rd of Elizabeth it was ordered to be held by John Man, and Stephen Copping, Guildholders, at the usual period.

On the 22nd of April, 3 Jas. I, the Great Court agreed, that "Roger Wallis hathe openlie confessed that he hathe offended the towne, in contemminge the auntient orders and usages of this towne, by not holdinge and keepinge of the Guild Merchant of this towne, beinge elected thereunto; and thereuppon hathe nowe made requeste to this courte to be a free Burgess of this towne, and to be dischardged from keeping of the Guild Merchant, for a reasonable fyne."

Wallis was made free and discharged of the Alderman of the Guild for a fine of vij*li.*

On the 24th May, 3rd Jas., Richard Seelie was elected Alderman of the Guild to serve with another, and to keep two dinners in each year, at which every Burgess should pay 16*d.* for himself and his wife, and the first or next Guild was ordered to be held upon the Sunday se'nnight after Midsummer.

In the next year, a tierce of claret was ordered to be provided for the use of the Guild, at the cost of the town.

In the 5th year of Jas. the Aldermen of the Guild were ordered to keep two dinners, and all free men

paying subsidy in the town should attend with their wives and "none other."

In the 6th of Jas. the Portmen were ordered to pay 5*s.* each to the dinner of the Guild, but to find no capon; the "Twenty-four" 3*s.* 4*d.* and no capon; and every Freeman 2*s.* 6*d.* each. None should be allowed to attend, but such as were Burgesses; whether they attended or not, they were bound to pay towards the feast.

On the 18th of May, 8th Jas. an entry appears of another tierce of wine, to be "layd in by the town" for the Guild.

On the 17th December of the same year, the Court fined Christopher Ward £10 for saying that "suche as hold up their hands for the electing of Robert Woodruffe to be Guildholder were knaves and asses."

On the 27th May, 9th of Jas. the then Guildholders were fined 40*s.* each for not holding the Guild upon the accustomed day. Other entries of the same kind following, prove the institution was now in a state of gradual extinction. Long stripped of its sacerdotal character, the monks and friars who attended closely to its interest, and fostered its magnificence in days gone by, having themselves been long removed, the Guild had assumed the aspect of a mere company of traders joined together for common benefit. On the 8th July, 10th Jas. it is found that the Guildholders having neglected to hold the Guild on the day fixed, a fine of £20 was imposed on them—a large sum when compared with the fine of the previous year. Perhaps the Great Court also held the same opinion, as upon request they were discharged of the fine, provided they held the Guild upon the 11th day of August, "whereunto they submitt."

In the 12th of Jas., Thomas Alderton and Henry Humphrey, because they had made a good entertainment, were discharged from further holding the Guild; but although, on the 5th May, 15th Jas. the feast was deferred until the 8th of July, and a tierce of claret ordered to be laid in at the cost of the town, it is found that two years afterwards, Edward Wallis and Thomas Mulliner were each fined £20, "and nevertheless to hold the accustomed entertainment at the usual time next yere." This fine appears to have brought matters to a crisis. Both refused to pay, and were accordingly committed to prison till payment should be conceded, unless "they being sent for," should enter into bond to pay the same at a certain day. The remonstrant Guildholders, at least Wallis, refused to attend the call of the Court, and having at divers other times also refused, he was fined £40 to be paid before next Hollymasse! The issue of the contest was this, that being placed in duress, he sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, and appearing at the Court of King's Bench, and the question being argued, the Court confirmed the power of the Bailiffs, and Wallis paid a fine of £20, acknowledging his fault of disobedience.

After this period the Guild, though apparently supported by law, declined in interest and importance. In exchange for a fine in money, Isaak Day is found discharged from the office of Guildholder, upon condition of cleansing the way "against Mr. Snelling's house, and eventually the feast and the Guild are found dwindling to a dinner bestowed upon the Twelve and Four-and-Twenty.

Whether these ancient institutions accomplished in the least degree the objects for which it is believed they were established, is a question at this period of

time not easily settled, but modern wisdom at least professes to inform us, that the safety and growth of commerce and manufacturing industry exist in perfect freedom. The trading Guilds of the middle ages, eminently restrictive in their policy, must therefore with this view be condemned. Under every aspect, however, they offer the most tempting material to the local historian. They exhibit the politics and manners of the age. Princes, abbots, priors, and knights are found enrolled in their fraternities. They colour with the richest hues the times in which they flourished, and have made the days of our forefathers far more picturesque to us, than probably our own times will appear to posterity.

MIDSUMMER WATCH. MINSTRELS, WAITS, &c.

THE singular custom of setting the watch upon Midsummer eve, prevalent in many ancient towns, appears to have been disregarded in Ipswich, or at least, if followed, was not attended with that pomp and display forming its constant accompaniment in London, Chester, and Coventry. The "watche bell" is mentioned as late as the 6th year of Elizabeth, and it is ordered that the bell be sounded daily, both at the commencement and conclusion of the watch;* but the ceremonies observed upon Midsummer eve, when a new year of watch being commenced, a pompous inauguration took place, do not appear mentioned in the Corporate records.

Still it is not improbable that this annual ceremony was nevertheless performed, the Corporation keeping a company of Minstrels and Waits at the service of the town, attending the processions of the Corpus

* The watch commenced at eight o'clock in the evening of the winter, and continued until day-break. In summer, the watch began at nine o'clock.

Christi Guilds—the town feasts—and constantly promoting the existence of that harmony among the general body of the Burgesses, not at all times found prevalent with the Bailiffs and the Twenty-four.

The first mention made of musicians or minstrels in Ipswich, is not earlier than Elizabeth; in the 8th year of whose reign, William Martin, "Musitian," was ordered to be paid 13*s.* 4*d.* for his service at the Guild, and henceforth to have 20*s.* yearly. Martin continued in his office for many years. In the 26th year of Elizabeth, the town bought Waits for Martin and his company, six in number, and they were ordered to serve the town as the Bailiffs should appoint. They were now to be paid only what the town "thought meete" for their services, and if at the year's end the town did not approve of the service Martin and his company had rendered, the expense of the Waits purchased was to be refunded by them.

It seems that the duties of the Waits commenced at Michaelmas, and continued until Lady-day—a much longer period than the voluntary services of modern Waits extend, who commence, generally, on Christmas eve, and close their midnight harmony shortly after the entrance of the new year. In the 40th of Elizabeth, an order of Great Court was made, which fully explains the duties of Musicians and Waits, and shews the strict compliance they were obliged to yield to the authorities of the town.

"Att this Courte, John Betts* and his companye Hughe Wakefield, Allexander Thomas, and John Allen are reteyned to be the Musitians of this towne from Michaelmas last, duringe the townes pleasure, and to walke aboute the towne wth their Waights from Michaelmas untill o^{r} ladie daie. And it is agreed that the

* Martin dead.

said John Betts shall have paide him in satisfaction for his peynes wth his said companie foure pounds a yere, to be paid quarterlie, the first paiment thereoff to begynne at xxmas next, and that they shall have allowed them evrie yere that they shall make them liveries twelve shillings a pece, so as they shall goe decentlie apparelled, provided that the said John Betts shall not att any tyme hereafter take any person into his company dwellinge out of this towne, without the consent of the Bayliffs for the time being, and the rest of the Portmen, or the most of them. And that they shall attende uppon the towne as henceforthe they have done." * * * * "It is further agreed that John Betts, musitian, with his companye to the number of foure p'sons shall enioye the offyce of the Weyghts within the towne to serve in that offyce ffrom the daye of the date hereof untyll Assention daye next, and that they shall gowe theraboute nyghtlye from two of the clock untyll they have gone throughout the towne. And further that they shalbe at the demandement of the towne durying the whole yere for furder (orders) in their musyck. And therefore it is agreed that they shall have for ther..... and wages this yere iiij*li.* and convenyent lyverys of the townes chardge, and besydes to receive the benevolence of the inhabitants of the towne, as John Martin the late musitian heretofore have used to collect the same."

Upon this same date is found the record of an addition to the harmony of the town, in the appointment of a town drummer! It is recorded that—

"John Crossley is elected to be drummer to the town, and shall have yerely a livery and thirty shillings."

Other entries connected with the Waits and Musitions are found scattered through the books * of the Corporation, but they afford no additional information upon the subject. Like many old municipal retainers, the Musicians and Waits are departed with the times and circumstances that gave them birth, and in the present period, when scarcely a mark of outward distinction separates the Burgess from the Corporate officer, it is improbable that either obsolete distinctions or departed attendants will be recusitated. The lovers of such interesting memorials, unable to look upon the reality, must therefore be content that the lineaments of the originals are rescued from entire decay, though the restorations of the antiquary, most likely in a majority of cases, distort instead of preserve the features of that they seek to restore.

* In 37th Elizabeth, an order passed allowing the company of Minstrels to pass the seas "this summer time."

MEMORIALS OF EARLY TRADE, COMMERCE, AND SHIPPING.

ALTHOUGH the commerce of Ipswich can be traced upwards to a period beyond the days of John, details of trade are not found in abundance until the reign of Edward I. A few items upon maritime affairs are recorded temp. Henry III, but evidence, in abundance, of the trade of the port is not found until the 9th of Edward I, when the imports and exports were of considerable extent, and as far as the many restrictions upon commerce would allow, added wealth and stability to the merchant subjects of the king.

The first distinct mention of the *merchants* of the town after the charter of John, is found in the charter of the 41st year of Henry III, when they, with their merchandise, fish, as well as other commodities, coming to the port, were allowed to enjoy free passage and free trade.*

In the 10th year of Edward I, (1281) the merchants of Ipswich, being Burgesses, were made free of portage, anchorage, standage, and searchage, for

* Ipswich Domesday.

all their merchandise in all the king's ports; and in the 13th of the same reign, it is found that the town furnished two ships for the king's service in Scotland. These were sent home with a short testimonial of their good aid, and with a discharge, until a proper writ could be issued from the Treasury, more fully detailing their release.

The service afforded this monarch by the maritime resources of the port, proved of singular benefit to Ipswich, for in consequence of aid being given on a voyage of the king into Scotland, he was induced to restore the liberties of the town, hitherto seized and kept in possession from the 13th year of his reign, until the 19th.* This seizure arose from trespasses done against the king, and the consequences became almost as fatal to the prosperity of trade, as an interdict to the general community. All power of local government was taken away, and a *Custos* appointed by royal authority, who administered the local laws and customs according to his own discretion and interpretation. Bacon says, "the first (Custos) I can find is William de Booth," and this appears to have been the only one. The king granted a Charter of Restitution in 1290, dated Barwick, of all the accustomed liberties and privileges, to be held in fee ferm of £60 annually.

The names of many of the officers of the Customs, even at a very early period, have fortunately been preserved.

For the years 1280 and 1281, the 9th and 10th of Edward I, Thomas le Rente and Richard Lew were Collectors of the Customs in the port.

* Gippewic appears to have been treated with more lenience than the king treated the city of Winchester, on the inhabitants of which he levied an enormous fine, added to the deprivation of their liberties.

15th Edward I, 1286, Walteri de Luka, per visa Philipp Harneys et Johannis Harneys.

22nd and 26th Edward I, 1293, 1297, Philip Harneys and Willielmus Fraunc, Elya de Hereford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, being the king's receiver at the Exchequer.

32nd and 33rd Edward I, 1303-4, Nicholai Clerici and Thomas le —— collectors.

15th and 16th Edward II, 1321-2, Johannis de Watefield and Henry le Robourn, collectors.

18th, 19th and 20th Edward II, 1324-5-6, Gilberti Roberti and Johannis de Preston.

5th Edward III, 1331, ditto.

12th and 13th Edward III, 1338-9, Johannis de Preston et Ricardi de Leu, coll. cust. de portu Gippewic.

The names of other collectors in this reign are lost, but in the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of Richard II, 1382-3-4-5, Galfride Sterlyng, sen. and Robert Waleys.

10th Richard II, 1386, Galfride Sterlyng.

10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, Richard II, 1386-7-8-9, Galfride Sterlyng de Gipewice and Johannis Semale de Coggeshall,* collectors.

21st and 22nd Richard II, 1397-8, Thomas Godestow and Johannis Arnald.†

5th Henry IV, 1403, Johannis Kymble, controller of subsidy, and Roger Tebaud, controller of customs.

In the same year, Johannis Sterlyng also appears as collector of subsidy.

11th and 12th Henry IV, 1409-10, Johannis Rous and John Godestow, collectors.

* Coll. cust. et sub Regni de lanarum coriorum et pellium lanatarum.

† Coll. custum et subsi Regis in portu ville Gippewici et in al divers portubus.

1st and 2nd Henry V, 1413-14, John Godestow and William Warren.

For the remaining seven years of this reign, Goddestow and Johannis Hawe were collectors of the customs and subsidy.

1st and 2rd Henry VI, 1422-4, Thomas Prudman* (searcher.)

9th and 12th Henry VI, 1430-3, William Mayhew was searcher, who appears to have been succeeded by — Inteburgh.

The laws and usages which fettered the efforts of early commerce, were many and heavy. At the end of the 13th century, no foreign merchant was allowed to remain in Ipswich without special license of the king, and after obtaining this license, was under the necessity of disposing of his goods within forty days after arrival. It was not until 1303, that a charter was granted by which the merchants of Germany, France, Navarre, Portugal, and Lombardy, were allowed to come safely and sell their wares, under the protection of the laws in any part of the land; and until 1353, all foreign merchants were liable for the debts of each other.†

The numerous ordinances for preventing coin and bullion leaving the kingdom, had also the bad effect of driving foreign merchants to barter, for so strictly were the laws kept with respect to the exportation of bullion, that even innkeepers were appointed searchers of persons who came to ports for the purpose of trading, and were allowed the fourth part of all seizures. Afterwards, the rewards for the discoveries of delinquents were raised to a third. This grievance, how-

* Scrutatoris Regni in portu Gipp.

† See Ordinance of the Staple.

ever, having reached its height, a decline in the rigorous administration of the law took place, and at length foreign merchants were allowed to carry away one half of the money for which they sold their goods, though obliged to expend the half of what they imported in the purchase of English wools, leather, butter, cheese, and cloth.

Nor was the inconvenience of barter the only difficulty under which the foreign traders of Ipswich were obliged to succumb. They were not allowed to live in houses dedicated to their own convenience and modes of life, but consigned both men and chattles to the keeping of "Hostmen," persons appointed to board, lodge, and transact business of strangers. Regulations for the Hostmen or "Hoastmen" of Ipswich are set down in Domesday Book, and it is probable a close adherence was followed with regard to them.* The Hostmen also acted as brokers, and sold the goods of merchants, though by the Charter of Henry III, no brokers were allowed.

The maritime character of Ipswich increased considerably under the expeditions of that warlike monarch, Edward III. His almost ceaseless wars upon the continent, and the alacrity with which he fostered the trade and commerce of the kingdom, operated greatly to the advantage of this community. Many of his most important armaments were collected at Ipswich. Here also, and at Yarmouth, he made store of wools, a commodity not only producing

* "And let all merchant strangers coming to the said town (Ipswich) with their merchandise, be also cautious that they employ good and lawful Hosts, for if their Hosts shall be the sellers of their merchandise, such Hosts shall answer to their merchants to the full. And if they do not, like execution shall be done against them as shall be against other bad payers."

revenues which aided him in his expensive inroads, but by the personal traffic in which he engaged, served to replenish his private coffers.

In 1337, Edward having raised many subsidies in Brabant and other places, for the purpose of prosecuting his designs against the French monarch, in the following year the prelates, nobility, and freeholders indulged him with a gift of wool, besides allowing him a duty of 2*s*. a tun upon wine above the usual customs. Out of the product of this gift, Edward contrived to perform a portion of the promise made to the Duke of Brabant, that the Brabantine merchants should be allowed to leave England if they pleased, taking with them 2000 bags of wool. The whole of this wool was embarked from the port of Ipswich, and the merchants themselves appear to have collected at this port, for the purpose of passage to their native country. This is shewn by the mandate of the king to his beloved and faithful Walter Manny, Admiral of the Fleet, who was required to collect sufficient ships of war with armed men, mariners, and other necessaries; and so prepared, to come to the said port of Ipswich without delay, for the passage of the said wool.

The gift of wool to the king, and the duty paid upon the same commodity by the merchants, rendered the Eastern parts of the kingdom the focus of the wool trade.* The monarch became fully alive to these sources of profit, and being the maker or controller of his own laws, was not inattentive to those protective regulations which tended to produce him, personally, considerable gain. The wool was ordered to be col-

* Great Yarmouth was also largely engaged in the wool trade for the king at this period.

lected at the ports of Yarmouth and Ipswich, and placed under the seal of the monarch. No merchant was allowed to export or sell wool without express permission, and in many cases, the general trade was checked, in order to add to the personal accumulations of the merchant monarch.

It is but fair to state, that when the king allowed the exportation of wool by the merchants of Ipswich, he took the best means to protect them from his watchful continental foes. Upon the transmission, coastwise merely, of wool from the port of Ipswich to that of Yarmouth, his Admirals upon the high seas, and Sheriffs upon the coast, were apprised, that the cargoes were afloat, and that he held them accountable for their safe arrival. The knowledge that the fleet of the enemy had put to sea, and was prepared to attack English vessels found upon the high seas, brought forth proclamations apprising merchants of their danger, and warning the masters of ships not to depart without caution and force to repel those intending to attack them. Thus in 1339 * the king reported to the Bailiffs of Ipswich that 18 ships of war were lying at the port of Lescluses de Flanders, (Sluys) waiting for ships of his kingdom laden with wool and other merchandise going to Antwerp, so that they might capture them, and cautioning the merchants not to allow their vessels to leave without being accompanied by sufficient force to repel such attacks as might be made upon them.

As many instances of the extreme attention paid by Edward III, to the trade of the merchants of Ipswich are extant, it may be proper to afford one example :—

A.D. 1363, An. 37, Edward III. "Concerning the weighing of wool in the town of Ipswich. The king,

* Fœdera.

to his collectors of customs in the port of the town of Great Yarmouth, and our controller and weigher there, greeting.

"Our beloved merchant John de Wesenham, has petitioned us, that as he and his partners have much wool, hides, and sheep skins, in the town of *Ipswich*, and its neighbourhood, about to be brought over to our town of Calais, which wool if carried to the port of Gt. Yarmouth, will be much injured, and both trouble and expense not a little incurred, which will be altogether a dead loss, &c. &c. We grant permission to the said John and his companions for the avoiding these losses, that they may be allowed to embark their wools, hides, and skins, which are in the said town of Ipswich and its neighbourhood, in the port of the same town of Ipswich, the customs and subsidies thence due to us being paid, and to convey them to the said town of Calais. We, regarding these presents, and wishing to show especial favour to the aforesaid petition of John and his companions, have been induced to grant them this license.

"And therefore we command you, that you, with the weights and other instruments appointed for the weighing of wool in the said town of Gt. Yarmouth, go personally to the said port of Ipswich and weigh all the wools of the said John and his partners, which are in the same place and its neighbourhood; and that these so weighed, as well as the sheep skins and hides of the same John, which at present shall have been put on board vessels, in the same port of Ipswich, the customs and subsidies therefrom due to us having been paid, to be put on board, this alteration being done by our especial favour. Oath being taken by these and every master of vessels in which the said wool, hides, and skins are embarked, that they

will take these wools, hides, and skins to the said town of Calais, and will there and no where else discharge and sell the same, and having executed our indenture, with our seal, which is called Coket, in the form of our mandate directed to you, you shall permit them to go from the same port of Ipswich as far as the said town of Calais, and any order or mandates contrary to this are null and void.

"Witness the king at Westminster, 28th April, 1363.* By King and Council."

In 1342, the king grants to John de Portrare 184 bags of wool from the port of Ipswich, in part payment of £2500 promised to be paid him for redemption of the two crowns of Queen Philippa pawned to him.† It appears that a larger quantity of wool belonging to Edward was at this period warehoused at Ipswich than at London, for the king could only grant to his "beloved John" 150 bags from the latter place, while from Ipswich he was allowed 184 bags. This wool was collected from the county of Essex, and warehoused here for the purpose of advancing the monarch's private and warlike speculations.

In 1346, the martial deeds of the King and the Black Prince, were crowned by the victory of Cressy, in prosecution of his plan to lay siege and reduce the town of Calais. In order that no want of stores and victual for the army should be felt, the king issued

* Fœdera.

† Fœdera. It is fair to say, that though the king took all means of securing to himself the product of the tax on wool, as well as profit upon large sales, he expended it entirely upon his wars, and indeed was frequently reduced to comparative poverty. The pawning of the crown of the Queen arose from this severe want of money. This insignia of royalty appears to have been pawned in 1339. The crown jewels were frequently in pawn during the greater portion of the reign.

a command to the Bailiffs * that they should cause public proclamation to be made through the town, that all merchants and others having food to sell and willing to do so for their own gain, should betake themselves to the town of Calais with flour, bread, corn, wine, beer, flesh, fish, bows, arrows, &c. necessary for the sustenance of the army, the king covenanting to make ready payment for the same free from loss, molestation, or violence. The efforts of the king and his troops having reduced Calais and expelled the natives, it became desirable that that town should be inhabited by as many English persons as could be induced to take up their residence within the ruined walls. The Bailiffs of Ipswich, with those of other places, were addressed upon the subject, and invited to promote the object of the monarch, "because, says the document, it gives us great concern that our town of Calais, which now hath come into our possession by conquest, Divine clemency permitting, should be supplied with victuals and other things, and with goods saleable and marketable, and should be quickly inhabited and strengthened by men from our kingdom of England."*

In 1360, in anticipation that the French intended to invade the Eastern coast, a writ was issued to the Bailiffs, commanding them to provide for the safety of the ships of the port by dragging them inland, meaning that they should be removed from the roadstead and open channels of the river, and brought closer to the town. The arrest of all vessels with crews and passengers was also ordered upon consideration of impending danger. These embargoes were removed upon a proclamation of the truce with France in the same year.

* Fœdera.

The trade in wool, of which mention has been made, flourished in Ipswich at an earlier era than the third Edward. At the period when Edward 1st held the sceptre of the kingdom, not only a legitimate, but an illegitimate trade in this article existed. John Bare, John Boneville, Miles de Boneville, Thomas Knivet, John Knivet, Robert de St. Quinton, John de Quinton, Regnald Cockerell, Noel de Aubianis, John Mulet, and John Bele, all of them travelling merchants, had themselves carried, and caused to be carried, wools to foreign parts through the port of Ipswich, "the Hundred knew not how many bags."* These travelling merchants appear to have managed their contraband trade effectively, for no persons examined could tell by whose instigation, assistance, or advice, the wool was brought to the town, nor how much, or by whom received, or at what time received! No doubt this evasion of the king's duties was not the first which had occurred, and the enquiry, bootless as it seems to have ended, was called for the purpose of making the practice known, rather than bringing home the charge to the guilty parties.

In the reigns of Richard II and Henries IV and V, the commerce of the town shared the general depressions and prosperity of the kingdom. Cloth, wool, fish, (in abundance for the use of the monasteries both of the town and county) wines of Gascony, leather, fells, iron, plate, jewels, and other commodities, continued to be imported, and some of the articles exported. The death of Edward III, and his previous absence from his embattled manor house at Walton, near Felixtow, where he frequently resided, caused of course the port to assume an aspect of dullness it had not experienced during former periods of

* Hundred Rolls.

his life. The commercial spirit however again prevailed, and the town at length resumed her ancient activity.

In 1464, Ipswich was made a town of the staple. For some years previous to this date, the number of foreign merchants that found their way into the maritime places of this kingdom and settled there, was very large, and of the inhabitants of the Low Countries more especially. In 1477, a large colony of foreign merchants "and Dutchmen," were located in the town. Under an entry of the 17th Edward IV it is recorded,* that strangers "or Dutchmen" keeping inn or shop, should pay yearly 20*d.* each. Such innkeepers and shopkeepers should also be bound to answer for their servants, nor should they entertain merchants as guests under a penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* to be levied by distress for every offence.†

The customs charged on articles of import towards the fee ferm of the town, afford an insight into a few curious particulars connected with the commerce of this period. Stone called freestone and black stone, was charged four pence a hundred. For every piece of unwrought marble, for *coffins, crosses,* and *fonts,* one halfpenny, both of buyer and seller. For every hundred mortars, four pence, or one penny for each dozen. We also read of Spanish and Normandy iron, pigs and fotmel of lead. For every parcel of laten, brass or copper, one farthing was to be taken, and the same amount for sheep skins, bogee, fox and other skins, lasts of dried and fresh herrings, salmon and other fish. *Coats of mail, targets, swords, and bucklers,* are enumerated as articles to pay custom, with

* Bacon's MSS.

† This has reference to the regulation respecting Hostmen, who were to be appointed exclusively from Burgesses.

the wooden table furniture of bowls, trenchers, and mazers, for the manufacture of which it appears this country stood indebted to the ingenuity of continental artificers.*

The names of those persons entrusted with the management of the customs, as collectors and controllers from the 12th Henry VI, to the 23rd Henry VII, are as follows:—

37th and 38th Henry VI, Thome Bateman, controller of customs and subsidies.

2nd Edward IV, "Henry Waude and Henry Bruton (or Barton) collectors of customs from the 28th April, 2nd Edward IV, to 16th October next, after which time William Hutcliff was controller."

2nd and 3rd Edward IV, "William Hattecliffe, contra custum. et subs."

3rd Edward IV, "Johannis Jukes et Johannis Tymyot nuper coll. custum. et subs."

5th Edward IV, Richard Felawe and Philip Howell collectors.

6th and 7th Edward IV, "Georgii Radclyff controller."

9th Edward IV, "Richard Felawe nuper contra custum. et subs."

10th Edward IV, "Roberti Bulstrode et Joh'es Rous nuper coll. custumar et subs."

12th Edward IV, William Stanley and Robert Bulstrode.

13th Edward IV, "Johannis Tymperley et Roberti Thorpp coll. custum. et subs."

13th and 14th Edward IV, "Roberti Radcliff contra custumar et subs."

20th, 21st, and 22nd, Edward IV, "Johannis Walworth, et Willielmi Henbury coll. custum. et subs."

1st Richard III, ditto, controller Thomas Thorpe.

* Domesday Book.

3rd Henry VII, "Thome Sampson controller."

3rd Henry VII, "Rogeri Wentworth et Willielmi Henbury coll. custum. et subs."

5th Henry VII, "William Pyrton and W. Henbury, collectors of customs and subsidy on skins, small customs" and on tonnage and poundage, from Michaelmas till Easter 11th April next following.

5th and 6th Henry VII, "Thome Sampson controller."

7th, 8th, and 9th Henry VII, "William Pyrton and W. Tymperley coll. custum. et sub."

9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Henry VII, W. Pyrton and Edward Aylmer.

19th, 21st, and 22nd Henry VII, "William Spencer and Richard Perceyvale collectors of custum. and sub."

22nd Henry VII, William Spencer controller.

23rd Henry VII, "Richard Perceyvale* et Thome Hall collect."

The reign of Elizabeth shews that the trade in cloth flourished greatly in Ipswich, and the records of the Corporation abound with the rules and regulations to be observed by those who brought cloth into the town for sale. No person was allowed to buy or even receive into their houses, any piece of woollen bays, cotton, kersey, "fries," or "rugge," unless the same should have been first taken to the Cloth-hall. Defaulters in this particular were liable to a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* for cloth, and 3*s.* 4*d.* for other pieces. In default of payment, the defaulter was adjudged to suffer imprisonment.

* It is to Richard Perceyvale, that we are indebted for the collection of laws, customs, and copies of evidences frequently mentioned as Domesday Book, in this work. This labour performed by Perceyvale is a proof, that in throwing a light upon the days of our ancestors, we not only serve ourselves, but confer a favour on posterity.

The names of the merchants of Ipswich during the middle ages, are not easily obtainable. In the 14th of Henry VIII, the following persons, however, are found charged with the customs of Butlerage and Prisage, as importers of the wine of Gascony and other articles.* Edward Morse, Henry Toley, John Pytman, William Weste, Robert Allbright, John Lawe, John Daniell, William Sabyn,† Jacobo Hyll, Robert Joyner, William Staunser, William Rede, Robert Goodwyn, John Osborn. The merchandise on which these persons paid custom, had been brought to the port in vessels severally called the Edward, the Jemys, the Nicholas, the John Cundelyffe, and the Elizabeth.

During the administration of the celebrated Lord Burghley, an energetic attempt was made by John Johnson, stapler, and Christopher Goodwyn, merchant adventurer, to establish Ipswich as a mart town for the trade of the Low Countries, but after considerable interchange of correspondence, the plan was not considered feasible, and the hope of the originators appears to have been abandoned. The project which filled the minds of those traders is particularly laid down among the Burghley papers, and is entituled, "The Platt of Stablisshyinge a free Marte at Ipswich, devysed by John Johnson, stapler, and Xxofer Goodwyn, merchant adventurer."‡ The preamble of this plan states—that "now that troubles be in Fflanders, and therebye all trade of merchandise is stayed, and that our merchant adventurers have heretofore re-

* Fragment of the "Buttulerage Boke of Ippyswiche," among the Chapter House papers.

† A William Sabyn is reputed to have built one of the aisles of St. Mary Key Church. He is also found as the owner of a ship called the "Sabyan," lying in Orwell Haven, in the same reign.

‡ Lansdowne MSS. 30.

ceaved greate iniury in the lowe countryes, and by the state of the world we lyke everye daye more and more to sustayne by arrestes and staye of their goodes theare, and by the practise of the holy league, and other ..... that maye be offered them daylye, as have been many tymes heretofore. The said Johnson and Goodwyn doe thinke the opportunitie serveth well now, to erect a free mart towne at Ipswiche, and is as convenient a place for the arreste and conference of all the merchauntes of the world with theire wares and merchaundise thither bye sea, as at Andwarpe.* The towne of Ipswiche having the lyke pryviledge everye waye as Andwarpe hathe, and our countrye havinge the cheife staple commoditye of clothe and wull, that all other merchaundists cheiflye seake and followe, and soe they grounde theire devise as followeth.—

"First that our merchaunte adventurers shall staple at Ipswiche theire Englishe clothe, wares, and merchaundise as they did at Andwarpe, and shall transporte them thither at suche custome and subsidye as they did before unto Andwarpe, and to noe other place beyond sea, nor yet within the realme to be solde by the waye of trade and merchaundise.

"Then that neither English merchaunt, stilliarder, nor stranger, shall transporte to Hanborough,† to the low countryes, nor to any place on this side Hanborough, nor on this side the river of Seane in Normandye from any other porte within the realme of England, anye English clothe, wares, or commodities, to breake bulke and unto sale theare but at straungers custome.

"That the merchauntes of the stilliard shall shippe at Englishhe mennes custome when the merchaunte

* Antwerp. † Hamburgh.

adventures doe, and shall bring theire clothes to the marte towne and unlode them theare; and after they have tarried the ende of that marte with theire wontth sale, they shall transporte them beyonde sea without putting theim to sale untill they come to Colleyne, and other the stede townes beyonde Andwarpe.

"That the merchaunte adventurers shall have like pryviledge every waye at the marte towne of Ipswiche, as they had at Andwarpe, for their own companye onlye to trafique thither, and noe other Englisshe manne to buye and sell theare.

"That all merchaunte strangers shall have like libties and pryviledges at Ipswiche as they had at Andwarpe, and shall bringe in and carrye out from thence all manner of wares and merchaundise free of all custome and subsidie, paying onlie theire tolles they were wount to paye att Andwarpe.

"That duringe the marte tyme every personne and merchaunte and their goods and wares shall be (without?) trouble or arrest for any thing done out of the marte tyme, and yet everye manne to answeare anye debte or bargayne that he make at and duringe anye of the marte at the saide free marte towne of Ipswiche.

"Noe Englishe man to buye or sell at the marte towne but onlye the merchaunte adventurers and free menne of the towne theare.

"Noe person to retayle at the free marte towne but onlye the free menne of the marte towne, and they to buye and sell theare, and to transporte onlye beyonde sea, and not into Englande, paying toll as at Andwarpe is used."

The rules for this mart were:—

"No person to set up any manual occupation but a freeman.

"The staple of wool and fell to be beyond sea as it hath been before.

"The civil law to be at the marte town as at Antwarpe.

"Free marte four times every year, both at Ipswich and Antwarpe, each marte to continue xl days.

"All kinds of gold and silver coins to be current by proclamation at Ipswich.

"A mint to be erected at Ipswich, to value and buy bullion and broken money, and to issue current money in exchange."

The situation of Ipswich being supposed as good and safe as Antwerp, it was thought that the former town would be a good companion for the latter—indeed the advantage of a better haven appeared to be on the side of Ipswich.

The devisers inferred that for gain, and by reason of good government, the neighbourhood of Ipswich "would grow full of the making of all lynnen commodities, and gather all store of manuell occupacions, walled townes, villages and buildings, maryners, saylers, ffishermen and shipping, welthe, moneye, and all necessarys whatsoever that the lowe countrye hath at this daye, or ever had before, when it was most florishing."

The objections urged against the mart were, that the situation of Ipswich was not safe against invasion by sea as Antwerp, which had the strong town of Flushing to withstand invaders, and though the mouth of the Ipswich river could be made strong, both on the Harwich and Suffolk side, yet this could not be done without great expense. Obstructions in the river must also be removed, and much wharfage and cranage, with the erection of buildings, required in the town itself.

The King of Spain, the Emperor, and the French King, being of the Holy League, might also agree

together, that no commodity of their country should staple at any other place than Antwerp. By such an arrangement, trade would be destroyed, not increased.

It was also to be remembered, that the merchants coming to Ipswich, came "into an Ilande verye quiet indede at this daye, but if troubles should fall therein (w^{h} God forbid) it weare well to bee thought on whether the merchaunte strangers of the world wold be content to have their goods and p̃sons soe imprisoned and mewed up, yea, and whether they will truste the worde of a Prynce, that after warres proclaymed, every Prynce subiect being a merchaunt of the newe marte towne, against whom the warres are proclaymed, shall have free libtie to departe the realme with his goods and personne vi weeke after suche proclamacion shall be made."

It was also contended that the "swarming of merchants, their servitors, wives and famyles," into Ipswich, would render food scanty and dear, take up habitation and disperse artificers. Nor was it thought that the English people would bear the freedom, enriching, pride, slight, and fair speeches of the Antwerpians, nor would they endure to live by them!

The merchants of the kingdom appear to have been in no degree enamoured of the plan, as in the same collection of MSS. reasons are urged against its adoption, in which it is said that "the devise for the newe marte is—1. Unnecessarie. 2. Hurtefulle. 3. Impossible."

Circumstances, over which no control could be exercised, gradually changed the aspect of affairs as respected one article of manufacture and commerce, namely, cloth, which owing to its fabrication being followed in other localities more advantageous, slowly caused its decline in Suffolk and Norfolk. A heavy

blow was felt in the loss of the linen manufacture. Wool also conveyed into the interior more conveniently by improved internal navigation, than by the coasting vessels of Ipswich, became but of small export compared with what it had been. The decline of the cloth and linen trades, both home and foreign, was owing originally to the sources of disquiet to which the Dutch and French congregations throughout the Eastern Counties were subject during the time of Charles. These manufacturers had brought thousands of persons from the continent skilled as weavers. The religion, however, which they followed being obnoxious to Charles and Laud, it was considered of primary importance that the tenets of Luther, which these persons held, should bow to the absurd protestantism which the high church party professed. Charles would only grant, however, that those who were aliens might enjoy the use of their own services, but that all children born of such persons should attend the parish churches. This too was even a relaxation made after peremptory orders had been issued, that no other than the English Liturgy should be allowed them, faithfully translated into their own language. Such precautions caused the expression of great dissatisfaction in Ipswich, and the whole of Suffolk. In vain petitions and remonstrances were sent to the Archbishop, who returned for answer, that unless submission to his injunctions were made, all opposers would be proceeded against according to the spiritual laws and ecclesiastical canons. The Bishop of Norwich (Matthew Wren) straining the injunctions of Laud to the utmost, frightened thousands of families out of Norfolk and Suffolk into New England. One hundred and forty families, by whom Hamburgh and the countries within the Sound were supplied,

removed into Holland, where the Dutch allowed them to live untaxed and rent free for seven years. The trade with the Sound was supplied with cloth made in Suffolk, and which had been enjoyed "time out of mind." Ipswich, says an old author,* "as it was the finest town in England (!) and had the noblest harbour in the east, and most convenient for the trade of the northern and eastern parts of the world, *so till this time* was in as flourishing a state as any other in England."

To these memorials of the early trade of this port may be added a few notices of shipping in parallel eras. No doubt, previously to the reign of Edward III, monarchs whose warlike necessities required the assistance of maritime towns, received it from the port of Ipswich. During the period when that monarch attended the details of his foreign armaments sailing from Orewell, no doubt the town was full of bustle and employment. No port, indeed, capable of furnishing ships or supplies was free from the heavy calls and exactions made by him.

In the roll of ships before Calais, at the period of its investment by Edward, the number of vessels from the port of Ipswich is stated to be 12, with 239 mariners. In the whole fleet the king possessed but 25 ships, all others being supplied by towns, the authorities of which were ordered to supply vessels, frequently in numbers beyond their means. From the Eastern Counties alone came the following vessels:— from Harwich 14 ships and 283 mariners. Colchester sent 5 ships and 90 seamen. Yarmouth 43 with 1075

* Roger Coke. In 1643, Charles the First sent a message to the two Houses saying, that he had received a petition from the county of Suffolk, complaining of the decay of their cloth manufacture.

mariners. Maldon 2 ships and 32 mariners. Dunwich 6 ships with 102 men, and Orford 3 ships and 62 mariners. The whole armament consisted of 700 ships and 14,151 mariners. The 12 ships from Ipswich is said "to be a proportion very great yett suitable to those times, as no person or place spared to strain themselves to their utmost aoility to furnish the necessities of so noble and magnanimous a Prince."*

Previously to the reign of Edward III, it does not appear that a fleet belonging to the nation or the monarch had been established; the maritime wants of the king being supplied by the Cinque Ports, and such other places upon the coasts, able to afford a contingency upon an occasion of war. It is evident, however, that at the period when Edward III entered upon his expeditions abroad, the necessity of establishing a royal fleet appeared so urgent, that an armament of this nature was formed. In support of this opinion, many payments are found made to Admirals of the north and west fleets, to the surveyors and masters of the king's ships, and to the commodores, captains, constables, and sailors navigating and fighting in the same.†

Henry III possessed a few ships called the king's ships, which were used as vessels of war, but they were probably the private property of the monarch, and could not be deemed under the control of the nation.

During the period when the quarrels between the houses of York and Lancaster desolated the country with blood, many maritime memorials relating to the port are extant. Sir John Howard,‡ the fifth of that

* *Reyce's Breviary of Suffolk, Harl. MSS.*

† *Issue Roll of Thom. de Brantingham,* 1370.

‡ Afterwards duke of Norfolk, and killed at the battle of Bosworth, in the cause of Richard III.

Christian name, who warmly espoused the cause of the Yorkist family, and mainly assisted Edward IV in all his designs, lived at Tendring Hall, in the parish of Stoke by Nayland, and was in close connection with the port of Ipswich. Independently of the constant occupation this remarkable person had with the town during the whole reign of Edward, he was bound to it by ties of a personal nature, his son Thomas, who afterwards succeeded his father as Duke of Norfolk, being placed as a scholar in the Grammar School, and his personal comforts superintended by the Bailiffs, or at least one of the Bailiffs of the town.

The patronage, influence, and constant attendance of so important a person in the port, his intercourse with the inhabitants, and perhaps above all, the tender nature of the charge conferred by him on a municipal officer, point to the conclusion that either by his example, control, or by natural sympathy, the town was inclined to favour the Yorkists. The personal expenses of Sir John Howard * are preserved, and furnish a curious feature of the many preparations which partizan attachment made towards the support of a cause considered to be just and right.

The accounts of Sir John Howard commence in 1462 and continue down to 1479. They contain numerous items, shewing not only his connection with Ipswich, but the interest he took in maritime affairs. The following extracts and notices are interesting and important.

"1463. Item, my mastyre payd the xj day of Jully at Yipswyche ffor ij tonns off Spanyshe wyne ffor my sayd lord —— xvj marc.

* *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the 13th and 14th centuries.* Printed for the Roxburgh Club, and presented by Beriah Botfield, Esq.

"Item, my mastyr delyveryd the xxvj day off August to Fewl'am (Felawe) at Jebyswysche at Reschard Felawyshowe (Felaw's house) ffor my lord off Norfolk * ——— x marc.

"Item, in the 5th yere of kynge Edward the iiijth and the xviij day of May, my mastyre made Robard of Stoke and Rechard Felaw† of Yipswych to be bound for hym to Stalbroke marchaunt of London in xl$^{li.}$ and thereoff to be paid at Seynt Berthelmew day next comynge xx$^{li.}$ and at Myhelmesse next folwynge odre xx$^{li.}$ wch xl$^{li.}$ was in damaske for my lorde of Norffolke and he must acount to my mastyr therfore.

"May 16. M$^{d.}$ my mayster lent to the Erle of Oxford at Ypswych to geve the Freres ———.

"1463-4. Item, the Bayleys of Yipswych owyth hym (Sir J. H.) ffor old reragys ——— iiij$^{li.}$

"And Forster, the Gaylor of the town gale of Hepesweche howethe me be an hoblygasyon‡ ——— cc marke."

In 1463, Alnwick castle, Northumberland, was besieged by the Yorkists, in December, and Sir John

* John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, who resided at Framlingham Castle, and to whose wants Sir John Howard was particularly attentive. He afterwards succeeded him in the dukedom.

† Felaw was a large contributor to the Grammar School of Ipswich.

‡ No doubt in the loan made to Forster the sagacious Howard saw the advantage of this power he held over the borrower. In a period like the War of the Roses, when, as history shews us, a bloodless revolution was accomplished in eleven days—a Yorkist, Edward III, dethroned; and a Lancastrian reigning in his stead, to hold a monetary obligation over the keeper of a town gaol who might be called upon in the exercise of his duty to turn the bolts of a prison on the friends of his obliger, was a power worth having. The man who had locked up the friends of his friend, might, led by gratitude, or interest, be also induced to draw the bolts and set them free.

headed a large number of retainers from the county and marched to the North. The various townships in Suffolk were assessed in men to the expedition, the wages of whom appear to have been paid by Sir John Howard. Money for this purpose seems to have been lent to persons attending from the following townships in the county:—"Bramford, Kelsale, Peasenhall, Felixstowe, Polstead, Little Cornard, Sudborn, Bruisyard, Blaxhall, Marlesford, Stonham Aspal, Thurlow, Claydon, Sproughton, Lyvermere, Kentford, and Cavendish."

Sir John Howard was now engaged in assisting the king both by sea and land. Afterwards it will be seen he busied himself greatly in the fitting out of ships. His ability and knowledge of the sea caused the king eventually to appoint him to arm and command a fleet, and defend the coast, namely in 1470.

In 1463, Sir John Howard furnishes forth the ship Mary Talbot for the wars, the crew and men which she carried being collected from Ipswich, Harwich, Lynn, and other places.* The Mary Talbot carried upwards of eighty persons, who appear to have been paid 2*s.* each upon entering service. Among them we find John Colpho, of Wolverstone, John Dykeman, of Erwarton, John Browne, of Dovercourt, Nicholas Reed, of Nacton, and John Bullen, of Chelmondiston, with many others from near neighbourhoods.

As usual, Richard Felaw attends to the setting forth of the vessel. The steward writes thus—"the said Sir John Howard paid to the said Richard Felaw the day aforesaid (iiij of August, 1463) ffor to bye corn ffor the shyppe, xx marc."

* Sir J. Howard had large possessions at Lynn. When Edward fled the kingdom, Sir J. Howard conveyed him to Lynn, and found him security until he quitted England.

On the 7th August, £20 was delivered to Richard Felaw, which was received of Fatter the under "Sheryffe." The Mary Talbot therefore was most probably partly found by the county.

The victualling of the vessel was ample, as seen from a memorandum "of the parcellys that Ryschard Felawe hayt payd ffor vetayle and costys for the schyp of the money that the sayd Ryschard hayt reseyvyd of my mastyr Syr John Howard."

The stores placed on board comprised among other articles, 8 barrels of pitch and tar, 8 pipes of caldewelle,* 3 cwt. of stockfish, 45 pipes of beer,† fresh meat, and abundance of salt.

Many of the men on board the Mary Talbot were impressed into the service, 48 shillings being paid Thomas Lynnot, otherwise Thomas of Chawmbre for the *press* of twenty-nine men. He also delivered to Lynnot for the use of the ship, "xx sheffe arrowis and x bowis, be syde the stoff that he hadde beffore, and in money the same tyme xxiij*s*. iiij*d*." Tom a Chawmbre, afterwards rides with Sir John to the north country.

Upon the 10th of August, large preparations were made for the sea. Twelve oxen were purchased at 12*s*. each, and ten marks given to "Nycolle Ratclyffe ffor to bye oxen ffor hym." On the 12th of August, twenty bullocks were received from "William Tornor, Nycolas Ratclyffe's man." On the same day fifty oxen were purchased from John Hylle of Cleydon, at 16*s*. each, and forty seme of wheat.

In the same year Sir John Howard was busy in building a ship or caravel, at Dunwich. On the 10th

* Was this fresh water brought from the spring heads at Caldwell, St. Helen's?

† Probably stores for other vessels.

of July he takes a man named Spence, living at Stoke by Nayland, to Dunwich, sets him to work, with his "ffeleschepe" upon the vessel. On the 3rd of Aug. he takes by his own hand, to Henry of Selere, ten marks to go to Dunwich for payment of the workmen. Richard Felaw delivers £10 to Spence, for the same purpose. Judging from the continuance of the accounts, the caravel was put to sea and cruised on the coast, for under the year 1465, we still hear of the vessel at Dunwich, where two new cables were bought for her of Thomas Chatesye, of Okesworthe, or Oxeborghte, at 12*s.* the hundred weight. Thomas a Chawmbre also appears again, with Spence, who is a great man with Sir John about his ships.

When refitted, the "caravel" was brought out of Dunwich into the haven of Orwell, where certain persons are rewarded for their labour in helping the vessel in a storm, and the workmen sent home with "money to drink."

The fate of the "caravel" is unknown, but the fitting and refitting of other ships in the Orwell appears fully to occupy the thoughts both of Sir John Howard and his servants. In the 9th of March, 1466, we find him reckoning with carpenters for work upon "his shippe," at three pence, four pence, and a few superior workmen are paid ten pence a day.

"Item, the same day my mastyr paid to Roger Fuller, for tymbre for colers of a maste and gonne walls, xx*d.*"

"Item, the yer a for said, and the xvj day of Marche, my mastyr paid to Willyam Dolffyn for a pompe, v polyves and odre aparaylle for the spynas, xvij*d.*" This is another ship.

It is also found that on the 20th of April, xij*d.* was paid for a gallon of oil for the painting of the pavyses of the caravel. (These were large shields.)

On the 21st of April, three barrelled oxen are sent to the ship. On the next day, ij*s.* vj*d.* is paid to Margaret Webbe of Shotley, for a comb of mixed grain (mystelow) for the caravel.

"Item, the same day my mastyr paid to Clayson bere brewer, for an ashe of ij yerdes longe, for to make a lanterne and a stok for an ymage of our lady, iij*d.*"

An entry follows next, affording us a slight hint of ancient manners, though after the charge is made in the steward's account, it is struck out by the pen, so it must be presumed Sir John did not give his contribution to the custom.

"Item, the same day, my mastyr gaffe the women to the *hok kynge* xx*d.*"

On the 25th of April, three more oxen were slain for the caravel.

"Item, in this same week my mastyr sent fro Stoke to Hen. Candy, ij. c. of oken borde for the new balynger prise, vi*s.*"

On the 1st of May, appears two curious entries.—"Item, paid to Poule for a cote for Roger, chylde of the shippe xviij*d.* Item, paid to Robard Roser, for a shirte for the same chylde of the shippe, and for the standard."

Items of this character are found down to the year 1470, when the accounts conclude. At this last period, mention is made of the following vessels which appear to be under the control of this great personage, and payments are made for their victualling—The John, Helen, Old Helen, Nicholas of the Tower, Mary Grace, Spaniard, Peter, George, Nokes Kervel, and the Christopher.

Sir John Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, adhered closely to the fortunes of Richard III, and

was killed at Bosworth, August 22, 1485. He is the individual known as "Jockey of Norfolk."

But little, if any information, can be gathered upon the maritime history of Ipswich between the period here mentioned and that of Henry VIII, Mary, and Elizabeth. It is found, that in 1557, upon letters from the Lords of Queen Mary's Council, the town was ordered to set forth two ships, but either from dislike to the government, or from the true reason stated, the Bailiffs excused contribution to the forces of the kingdom, by stating that from lack of mariners and munitions of war, the town was unable to set forth a ship according to the request of the letter.

In the 38th of Elizabeth, an order was made for arming and setting forth two ships for the Queen's service or defence of the realm, the general expenses to be charged upon the maritime towns of the county. The object of the armament appears to have been stated as for the defence of Calais, but no doubt it was intended for attacks against the Spaniards, who in the next year made a descent upon the coast of Cornwall, and ravaged the country in that neighbourhood. The town of Ipswich, in consequence of the pecuniary burdens thrown upon it by the expense of this armament, became considerably involved, and although the Bailiffs mortgaged a portion of the Grammar School lands to Mr. Smart and others for £400 in order to relieve themselves, yet the infliction of debt pressed heavily upon them for some time afterwards.

The whole subsidy levied appears to have been insufficient for the purposes of the armament, and when upon the next court it appeared that Hugh Chill had purchased twelve barrels of gunpowder for the use of the town, it was agreed that the Bayliffs and

Portmen should each of them pay for one barrel, and thirty shillings over and above for the expenses and travel of Chill to London, where his powder was purchased. Eventually the affairs of this troublesome business were settled, not however before one of the Bailiffs, accompanied by a predecessor, rode to the "knights at Stowe," about the accompt of the charges of the ships "latelie set forth in her Majesty's service to Cales." The £400 remained unpaid for a long period.

A few years previously, namely in 1588, the town of Ipswich found and fully furnished two ships, and sent them forth against the Spanish Armada, at the sole cost of the inhabitants.

In 1589, in the expedition of reprisal to Spain and Portugal, Ipswich had several ships. In the second squadron was the James of Ipswich, 180 tons—the William of Ipswich, 160 tons, commanded by Capt. Boyer—the Red Lion of Ipswich, a hoy of 160 tons, commanded by Capt. Champernell; and in the fifth squadron was the William of Ipswich, a hoy of 200 tons, commanded by Capt. Fairthorne.*

There can be little doubt but that in the port of Ipswich the celebrated Cavendish, who sailed round the world in the time of Elizabeth, and became one of those gay buccaneers, who, like Sir Walter Raleigh, looked upon the Spanish possessions as the lawful prey of this country, concerted schemes of enterprize and pillage, which in conjunction with his circumnavigation, has made his name famous. Thomas Cavendish was born at Grimstone Hall, in the parish of Trimley, near Felixstowe, a spot affording views of the boundless ocean, and an easy and short communication with the two ports of Ipswich and Harwich.

* Reyce MSS.

The first expedition made by Cavendish sailed from Plymouth July 21, 1586, and early in the next year reached the Southern hemisphere, where he committed many ravages on land, burning the Spanish towns and accumulating a vast amount of treasure to himself. His armament consisted but of three ships, the Desire, Content, and High Gallant. On his return homewards, he fell in with a rich Spanish vessel, called the Santa Anna, which he captured, and added her cargo of bullion and specie to his own freight. Part of the freight of the Santa Anna he was under the necessity of consuming by fire, his own squadron reduced from three to two ships, not being capable of containing it.

So fortunate a conclusion to his expedition induced Cavendish, after a brief interval of rest, to make his way once more to the Elderado of the period, the Spanish possessions of South America. He accordingly sailed a second time towards the Southern hemisphere, on the 26th of August, 1591, but the winds and waves being against his progress, he did not reach the Straits of Magellan until nine months from the date of sailing. Here the good fortune of Cavendish forsook him, and in a terrible storm his little fleet became scattered, and the ship which he commanded, is believed to have perished in the tempest. A portion of the squadron continued to weather the disaster, and reached England in safety, but no tidings of Cavendish reached his native shores.

The entire plan of these voyages was concerted in Ipswich, by Cavendish, Capt. Thomas Eldred of this town, and Master Thomas Fuller, who was master of the ship Desire, sailing in the first voyage. Eldred returned to Ipswich, and it is believed ended his days peacefully and respectably in a house in St.

Clement's parish, where a portrait, believed to represent the seaman, and the figure of a ship and a globe, yet remain.

The family of Eldred was one of great respectability in this county. One branch was seated at Saxham, and at Oliver's, in Essex, lived the son of Thomas Eldred now mentioned. At Oliver's was preserved a portrait of Eldred,* mentioned in another part of this volume, very probably placed there by his son after the decease of his parent, as some memorial of his achievement. Several of the Eldreds of Ipswich held offices in the corporate body. Captain Eldred is believed to have been buried in St. Clement's church. How long he survived his return is not known. Two entries have been discovered in the register books of the parish, which may, or may not, relate to his individual family, though if so, he must have taken a second wife, his first being Margery Studd,† and lived to an extreme age. It is said a banner to commemorate the achievement of Thomas Eldred, was suspended in St. Clement's, and remained until comparatively few years since. The report, however, wants confirmation.

In 1665, the wounded seamen, disabled in the Dutch sea-fights of that and the previous year, were brought to Ipswich for the purpose of recovery. Many of them, however, died in the town, and the register of the church of St. Mary Stoke contains the following entries of their burial:—

Edward Wells, a seaman y^{t} came out of ye Royall Oake, buried Aprill ye 19th, 1665.

* See page 16.

† "Mary Eldred, daughter of Thomas and Anne Eldred, baptized 23rd July, 1626."

"Mrs. Eldred, widow, buried 27th December, 1638." St. Clement's Register.

Samuel Kempe, a seaman y^t^ came from the Royall James, buried Aprill ye 25th, 1665.

Robert Reader, a seaman y^t^ came from the Royall James, buried Aprill ye 28th, 1665.

Richard Wills, belonging to ye Royal James, buried May ye 24th, 1665.

John Bouden, belonging to ye Henry, buried May 29th, 1665.

Robert Ramsey, belonging to ye Lyon frigott, buried June 3rd, 1665.

Thomas Michel, belonging to ye Monke, buried June 17th, 1665.

Daniel Dedham, belonging to ye Monke frigott, buried July 7th, 1665.

Andrew Downing, belonging to ye St. Andrew frigott, was buried Sept. ye 4th, 1665.

In late years, the port of Ipswich became well known as a place for building ships, and several large vessels were completed and launched from the shipping yards. In 1763, the Spectator, East Indiaman, was built—1773, the Friendship of 300 tons—1777, the Mary and Ann, for the East India trade—in the same year, the Zebra sloop of war—1778, the Savage, another sloop of war of 14 guns—1779, the Prince of Orange Packet of 100 tons and 10 guns—1783, the St. James, and Spitfire, the former of 350 tons—1787, the Cruizer brig—1789, the Lord Sheffield, 400 tons —1799, the Caroline, 450 tons—1802, the Sir William Bensley, 575 tons—1804, the Daring gun brig—1805, the Imogen of 14 guns—1806, the Favorite, sloop of war of 18 long guns and 8 carronades—in the same year, two gun brigs of 22 guns each—1807, a brig of 20 guns—1808, the Jasper, a gun brig of 16 guns, and another of 14, with the Seagull sloop of 18, and a cutter of 14 guns—1811, the Harleston, East India-

man, of 580 tons—1817, the Orwell, in the same trade—1819, the Transit—1820, the David Scott, and the William Fairley, East Indiamen, of very large tonnage.

As the limit of this work does not extend beyond the memorials of the *ancient* town of Ipswich, it would be out of place here to afford details upon the amount of its modern trade and commerce. It might, however, be stated, that the port has gone on improving in capabilities and increasing in trade for many years to that point which has left it no superior between London, on the South and West, and Hull on the North. Her merchants drive a large trade with Holland and the North of Europe generally, while scarcely a maritime country on the globe is a stranger to the ships and mariners of Ipswich. Each year appears more fully to develope the excellent position, natural advantages, and great resources of this port for both outward and inland trade; and if Ipswich continue to progress as she has done hitherto, she will in time be fairly entitled to the proud distinction of ranking as the Liverpool of the East.

In 1786, a company was formed for the purpose of sending out whaling ships in the Greenland seas, and three vessels were provided—the Ipswich of 311 tons, with a crew of 41 men—the Orwell, of 346 tons, with about 50 seamen—and the Christopher of 280 tons, carrying 38 men. The speculation does not appear to have been of much service to those engaged in it. The vessels made three or four voyages. In the first, the Ipswich arrived home with one and a half butts of blubber, the produce of fifty-four small seals. The Orwell brought four hundred weight of whalebone and 150 butts of blubber, the produce of seven large whales, besides seals. In the next voy-

age the Ipswich arrived clean. The Orwell brought four hundred weight of whalebone and thirteen casks of blubber; and the Christopher brought four hundred weight of whalebone and seventeen casks of blubber. In the next voyage, the Ipswich brought seventeen tons of blubber—the Orwell twenty-seven tons of blubber—and the Christopher upwards of twelve tons.

The ill success of the company did not destroy the spirit of enterprize, for a new subscription was made, and two ships, the Charlotte and Symond were fitted out for similar purposes. They performed several voyages, but with no great return, and the project was finally abandoned.*

* Five whales have appeared within or close to the Orwell. The first was cast ashore near Langar-fort, in the reign of Elizabeth. The second came up the river alive and was struck. It was afterwards towed to the ship-yard at Nova Scotia and there cut up. The third, was a spermaceti whale, found dead and drawn into the river in January, 1764. Its dimensions were, length fifty-seven feet and one and a half inches—circumference thirty-two feet ten inches—breadth of head ten feet—tail in length fourteen feet six inches. The fourth fish was one of large size, seen first in the Wallet and pursued. All efforts were however unsuccessful, and it is believed the animal, eluding the vigilance used to entrap it, finally regained its own latitudes. The fifth whale was found dead and floating. When landed at Downham Reach, its dimensions were found to be seventy-two feet in length, and the thickness of its body was thirteen feet. The Admiralty made claim to this fish as a droit, but it was afterwards given up to its captors, poor fishermen, who sold the blubber to the chandlers of the town. The skeleton of the fish was allowed to float away, and was cast ashore at Walton. The duty was paid on two hundred weight and two quarters of whale fins, and four tons and a half of oil.

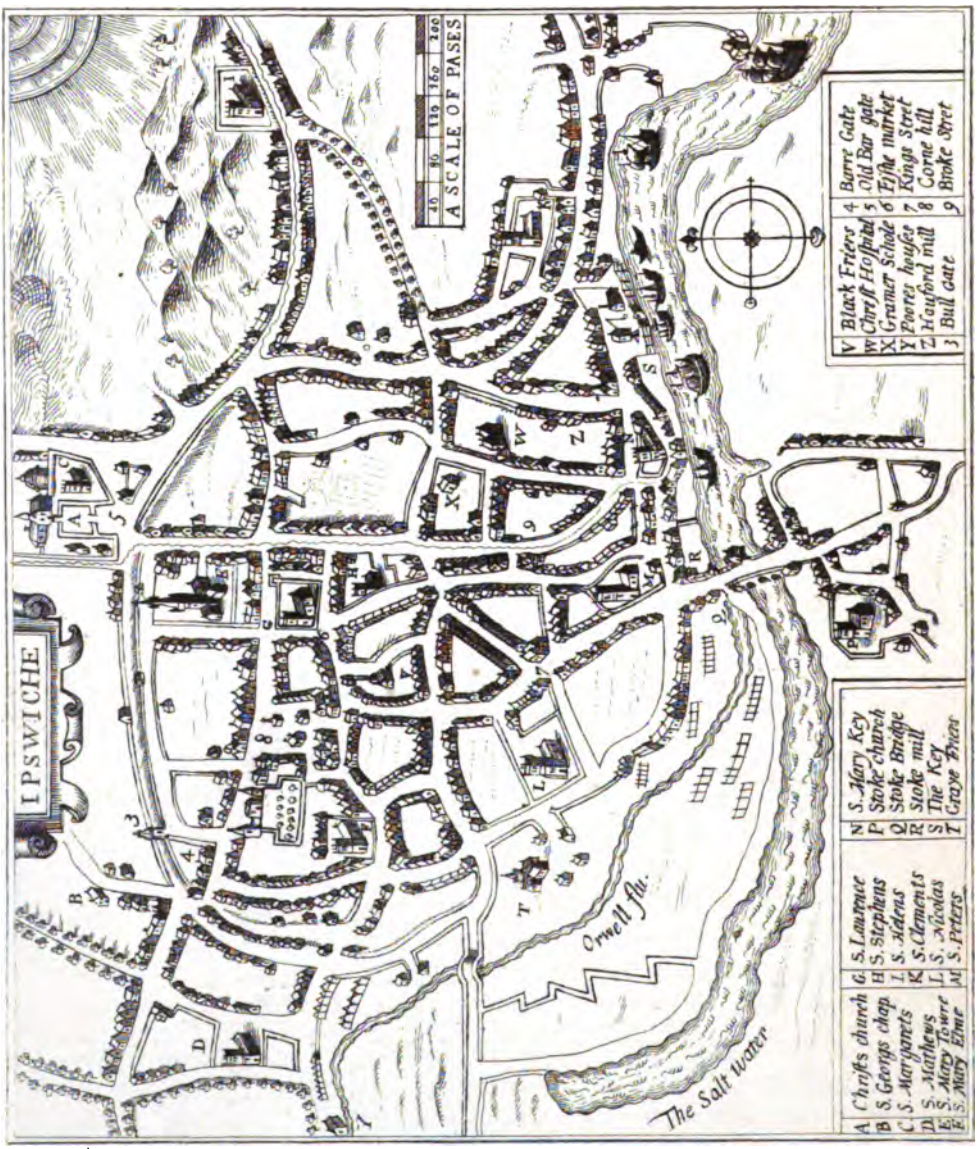
To return to an earlier period, it is recorded in the Great Court Books in the time of Elizabeth, that "a herde of grete and hughe fishes called Grampusses having appeared a second time in the haven of the river Orwell, they were ordered to be taken and destroyed, except two, one to be sent to her Majesty and the other to the Lord Treasurer and others of the Privy Council."

In the churches of Ipswich are found many merchant marks,* the sign and symbol of trade. The grave-stone of Augustine Parker, on the floor of St. Mary Key, near the chancel, bears his mark, as does also the brass of Drayle, in the Portmans' aisle in St. Mary Tower. The well-known Pounder brass bears a merchant's mark.† Several others can be named as remaining in churches. A corner post in a yard leading between St. Clement's and the Quay bears a merchant's mark. The largest collection, however, of which the town can boast, may be seen outside the clere-story of St. Margaret's, in the spandrils of the heads of the windows of which they abound. These are doubtless the symbol of the trade of those who contributed by their goods and possessions to the erection of the building.

* These curious and interesting devices of persons following commerce as a profession, and not entitled to bear arms, seldom exhibit more than a design indicating a particular confederacy or company to which the owner belonged. Occasionally they display the initials of the merchant, but not often, though always the cross, and frequently the sacred banner, that is, a banner bearing a cross. At later periods, the merchant's mark was placed in a shield. In "The duty and office of an Herald of Arms," written by Francis Thynne, 1605, is this passage:—"He shall prohibit any merchant or any other, to put their names, marks, or devices in escutcheons or shields, which (escutcheons or shields) belong, and only appertain to gentlemen bearing arms, and none others." Merchants frequently wore their mark on their seals, and sealed their deeds and bargains with the mark they had adopted.

† See frontispiece.

ANCIENT IPSWICH.



FAC-SIMILE OF SPEEDE'S MAP,

1610.

OLD LOCALITIES.

PERHAPS the most complete ancient plan of Ipswich is that published by Speed in 1610, and therefore a knowledge of many localities earlier than that date is not to be expected. Fortunately, however, many streets and buildings are mentioned in ancient documents by which not only is the antiquity and situation of various places established beyond doubt, but the general aspect of the town in several eras may be traced with considerable correctness.

At a very early period, the town was divided into four leets—Eastgate, Westgate, Southgate, and Northgate leets, the bounds of which were marked by crosses of stone. These crosses were removed most probably at the Reformation, and no account can be found either of their size, or ornament. Perhaps they served merely as boundaries, and were therefore plain and stunted; but if connected with the various religious houses, little doubt can exist but that they were of an ornamented nature.

Eastgate leet extended from the Northgate, on the east side, down Brook-street as far as a stone cross called Lewy's cross, and taking a turn to the

left reached "as far as the common fosse,* near the Friars' Preachers, with Cary-street, Thing-street, and Caldewelle-street."

Westgate leet extended from the Northgate on the right of the street upon which now stands the Pykenham gateway, as far as the street leading from Brook-street towards the Fish-market, and through the said market to the right of the corner of the "water cobbe," and so through the Corn-market (now Corn-hill,) on one side of the High-street, as far as Westgate-street, with the suburb without the same gate.

Southgate leet extended from Westgate, on one side of the High-street (St. Matthew's) towards the south, as far as the east end of the church of St. Mildred, and then as far on the right side of the street as the lane called Woulfouneslane, in the parish of St. Peter.

The division of Northgate leet extended over the remaining portion of the town, with Stoke bridge, the suburbs without the Quay, with St. Clement-street.

In the ancient regulations for the customs of the markets are found places called "Botflod Water," and a lane extending from "Botflod by the side of the brook southward, as far as the Colhil, and from thence as far on both sides of the street to the capital mansion of the late John Bolle, opposite the burial ground of St. Stephen's, and onwards as far as the lane leading out of the common ditch towards Abbot's Croft."

Brook-street, under the name of Broc-street, can be traced as far back as Henry III.

Stoke Bridge is mentioned in the town books as early as 1300, when Thomas Alvarde, who held pro-

* These particulars are borne out by the Domesday of the town. We here obtain a corroboration that the ditch and wall went down the Lower Wash.

perty in the town called "Alvardes," left by his will twenty shillings yearly for ever, out of lands called "Stivards," for the maintenance of this bridge, and the same sum from other lands. A bridge to the hamlet of Stoke is mentioned in the Conqueror's Survey.*

The bridge leading to Stoke was an object of much consideration with the town, and the entries with respect to it are numerous. In the 13th Henry VI, John de Caldwell offered to make a bridge at Stoke at his own cost, provided the inhabitants would pay pontage. In the 17th of Edward IV, the inhabitants of the hamlet were contumacious to the local authorities, and to show the power of the Bailiffs, these officers ordered that no carts should go over Stoke bridge, but that the bridge should be kept locked.

A new bridge was built in the reign of Henry VII, and an order passed the Great Court that all carters going over Stoke Bridge, lately built, shall pay towards the repairing and maintaining of the same, every Burgess a half-penny, and every foreigner a penny, provided that none crossed who could pass *the ford.*

In the 1st of Elizabeth, provision was made for all future repairs of the bridge, in the demise of lands at Bramford, to pay 34*s.* yearly rent, 40*s.* fine, and the carriage of 28 loads of timber from Whitton to Ipswich, for the "building of Stoke Bridge." The tenants also covenanted to convey 8 loads of timber from Holbrook, for the same purpose.

A bridge of *stone* existed between the town of Ipswich and the hamlet of Stoke, previously to the publication of Speed's map, as that piece of ancient chorography delineates the bridge constructed of that material, with a house built upon one of the piers,

* See page 53.

either for the convenience of levying pontage, or as a defence. This bridge in the map seems to be erected in a ponderous style, and the arches of that low and pointed character. It stood with little alteration until the 12th of April, 1818, when in consequence of a heavy flood caused by rain, two of the arches were swept away, and the structure rendered useless. The foundation of an iron bridge was laid September 3, 1818. Its cost, completed, reached £7000.

The hamlet of Stoke was at an early period celebrated for its mills. At the time of the Domesday Survey, a mill existed here, belonging to the Monastery of St. Etheldred, and the corporation of the town also held mills at a very early period on both sides the bridge. Orders were made compulsory on the inhabitants to bring their corn to the town mills to be ground, upon pain of fine and forfeiture of a portion of the grain. The miller in his turn was restricted to the receipt of certain toll only, and cautioned not to mingle inferior produce with grain brought to be ground for food.

A mill at Stoke appears to have been in the possession of the town in the 2nd of Henry VII, when its profits were made applicable to a most important purpose. In that year, William Baker, one of the Bailiffs, granted to the town the profits of Stoke mill, which belonged to him, for and during the term specified in an indenture between him and the prior of Ely. And upon condition that the profits of the mill should go to the Chamberlain until Michaelmas, and after, to remain to trustees named by the Great Court, to the use, that when it should happen a fifteenth of the king, or other great charge, should fall on the town, the same should be disbursed for the disburthening of all the inhabitants assessed to the sum of 10*d.* or

under, so that such persons should pay nothing to the charge. If it happened that the town was not burthened, then the trustees should yearly render account to the Bayliffs. The trustees were to repair the mill. Baker, however, reserved all the pasture, except sufficient for the miller's horse, to himself; the miller was to pay the ferme-rent of the mill, for the use of the Prior of Ely.

In the 6th of Henry VII, on the Friday before the Feast of Nativity, it was agreed to pay to the "Prior and Convent of Ely," for Stoke mill, the ferme of 16*s.* yerely for ever.

In the 6th of Henry, on the twentieth day of June, Stoke mill was granted to the town. The Prior and Convent granted the mill with two pieces of pasture, called the Hopper and the Harpe, for five hundred years from the next Midsummer, without impeachment of waste, at 3*l.* and 4*d.* yearly rent, provided that the same should not be assigned over without license.

An incontestible proof that the town held courts of judicature even in Saxon times, is known by mention of an ordeal pit. In the 29th of Edward I, the ordeal pit was given by the town, to one Habate or Wabate. The locality of the pit is not mentioned, and cannot now be recovered. The ordeal to which the pit was dedicated, was probably that of water.

The "kay" or quay is mentioned in the 35th of Edward I, (1306) when Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and Alice his wife, died seised of the quay of Ipswich with the houses upon it. In the 22nd of Richard II, (1398) the quay appears to be in the hands of the king. Bigod's name, however, seems to have attached to the old "kay" through succeeding generations, for as late as 1634 a complaint was

made in the Court of Chancery by Sir Robert Hitcham, who at that period lived in the town, against the condition of "Bigot's kay."

The growing commercial reputation of the town of Ipswich, is shewn by the importance attaching to this locality, and the gradual appearance of superior houses upon the site. The specimens remaining of these structures in the year 1846, indicate that the spot was the richest in the town. In a previous portion of this volume, (page 12) a description is afforded of a few examples of these fine old mansions, the residences of persons who might vie in wealth and extent of trade with some of the merchant princes of the period.

The common or open quay, as distinguished from private, was repaired at the expense of the Burgesses and others. In the reign of Edward IV, every Portman was ordered to contribute towards the repair "two lodes of greene broome, and 8*d.* in money." Each Burgess found for the same purpose one load of broom, and 7*d.* in money; and each of the Twenty-four "one lode of broome." In the next year a crane was built upon the quay at the common charge; common fines were ordered to go to the repair of the quay, and persons not paying before the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, lost their franchise.

Barr-gates stood across the present St. Matthew's and North-gate streets, forming entrances to the town through the ancient wall. With the fortifications they suffered many mutations. St. Matthew's or West-gate, was not removed until 1780, North-gate was pulled down in August, 1794.

Grose mentions the old Barr-gate under the name of St. Matthew's or the West-gate, and gives an engraving of its exterior. In his time the lower portion was built of stone to the height of about fifteen

feet, and through this was an archway opening outside the town. The upper part built of brick was castellated, having small towers at the angles; above, was a highly pitched roof, surmounted by a belfry, both comparatively modern additions.

Notices of the Barr-gates occur at early periods. In 1483, it is found that common soil at the Barr-gate was granted to John Parker, at 4*d.* rent, and in the next year the street, now St. Matthew's, is found named after the building—Barr-gate street. John de Caldwell, in the reign of Henry VI, offered to build a common gaol at the Barr-gate, which was done, and the prisoners of the franchise were confined therein. This appears to have fallen into ruin, as it became a question in 1583, whether the building of a house over the Barr-gates should be allowed. It is not improbable, therefore, that the upper portion, built of brick, was erected at this time, and if so, a difficulty stated by Grose, with respect to the age of the upper part, would be removed.* In 1587, it was proposed that the Barr-gates should be sold, though the offer of a purchaser was refused, and most likely this relic of ancient times, when the town was closely environed by its ramparts, and the curfew tolled at eight, after which no man left his house, continued unmolested until nearly the close of the last century, when it was entirely removed in the year mentioned.

The Barr-gate at the West end of the town was one of the four answering to the four leets or wards

* "The upper portion is of brick, and must be among the earliest buildings with those materials, it being generally allowed, that bricks in their present form, were not used in England till about the time of Henry the Seventh, and then only for chimnies, palaces, religious houses, &c." *Grose.*

into which the town was divided. No other gate is directly noticed, but West-gate and North-gate: though the mention of St. Clement's lying outside the Barr seems to intimate that a gate also stood in that direction.

In Speed's map, a gate called "Bull-gate" appears, opening from the West end of the ditches upon a short street leading to St. Matthew's or West-gate street. This structure, however, is not mentioned in any records of the Corporation.

An East-gate is mentioned in the Local Domesday Book. In this record, among the rules laid down for the payment of bermen or porters, the fee for conveyance of a sack of wool from the *East-gate* to the North-gate, is fixed at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ This East-gate was probably the gate in the parish of St. Clement.

St. George's lane, is now Globe lane. Its first name originated from the Chapel of St. George, formerly standing there.

Lady lane, St. Matthew's, is named from a chapel called Lady Chapel formerly standing therein. In this structure was kept the famous image of the Virgin, called Our Lady of Ipswich. Our Lady of Ipswich was pulled from her niche, conveyed to London, and burnt in Smithfield, when the gross impositions of the priests were discovered.

The gaol built by John de Caldwell was not the first prison erected in the town. In the proceedings which took place at the time of the first incorporation, John Prikeht was elected to keep the prison; and in the 5th of Edward I, William de Goldham was serjeant of the town gaol, and for the safe keeping of the prisoners, he was ordered to find sureties, not only that he kept them safely, but that they should not have too much indulgence. The wages of this officer were

13*s.* 4*d.* yearly, to which were added the "ancient fees." These last words shew the antiquity of the corrective jurisdiction of the town. In the reign of Henry VI, the Sheriff of the county appears to have had custody of the gaol for town pleas, "for that the precept was to him to discharge the gaol and return juries." In the 10th of Elizabeth, the Bailiffs ordered that "the Sheriff should not be suffered to have the use of the town gaol, without license first had of the Great Court, under peril of forfeiture of 20*li*," and this rule was more strictly enforced in the 34th year of the same monarch; when any Bailiff permitting the *county* gaoler to keep the town gaol for fourteen days, was heavily fined. The fees of the gaoler were for every prisoner committed concerning felony, 14*d.* and at his discharge or acquittal, 3*s.* 4*d.*—for every arrest on personal action, 14*d.*—for diet at the meal, 6*d.*—for lodging and bed each night, 2*d.*—for every oath taken he was paid 1*d.* which went to the support of the poor who could not afford to pay for board—for persons committed for offences against the peace, not above 20*d.* was allowed. He was not permitted to compound for the supply of fetters above a half-penny for the pound—and for persons condemned, at 1*d.* Most probably these were the "ancient" fees.

In the 38th of Elizabeth, the fees of the gaoler were altered, and he was allowed 8*d.* per meal for all prisoners committed on action, and 6*d.* for opening the door to each, if confined above four days.

The gaoler of the ancient gaol wore a town cognizance, but the Bailiffs obliged him to buy his own cloth.

In 1329, we find a locality called Shire-house hill mentioned. The only description given is, that it stood "in the Kay parish North of a house, and the salt

water South of the said house." Shire-house hill appears to have contained a large space, as in the 30th of Henry VI, parcel of the common soil at Shire-house hill was granted to John Caldwell, 80 feet broad and 100 long—to John Greete, another parcel of equal dimensions—to William Ketche, a piece 80 feet broad, and 200 long—and to John Goss, another parcel 87 feet broad, and 132 in length. Other individuals had also smaller portions assigned to them at different periods.

A street in St. Lawrence parish called Cook-row, lying North and South, is found in the 5th of Edward III. This is very probably the present Cook-row in the same parish. The Great Court adopted abundant rules and regulations with respect to the "victual" sold or supplied by the cooks. As it was the custom anciently that traders should as much as possible carry on their callings in one locality, it is not improbable that Cook-row was appropriated to the sellers of food, afterwards called victuallers.

A Bull-stake is mentioned in the 26th of Edward III, standing in its usual situation, the most open space in the town, the Corn-hill. Here bulls were baited, and at length it became a custom of the Corporation to allow no beef to be sold that had not been previously tortured by dogs. The Bull-stake afterwards was called the "Bull-ringle," retaining this name down to a modern period.

In the eighth of Edward IV, it was ordered by the Headboroughs that every butcher shall be fined 12*d.* for the sale of bull's flesh "not bayted," and in carrying out the order we find:—

"Immanuell Wordane, for scelling the flesche of boles unbayteed, xij*d.*

Phillepe Draye, for not bayteng of hees beaste, xij*d.*

Forefaite flesche of a bol onfitt for man's bodye, not beeing att the bollringe, xiiij*d.*"

One of the last items connected with the inhuman practice of baiting animals at a stake stands thus:

"September 26, 1676, by the order of Mr. John Ffurman, Treasurer for the towne of Ipswich.

Ffor workmanshipp and stuff about the paueing, when *the bull ringall was broken up*, about the said bull ringall. } 1*s.* 6*d.*

September 28th, 1676, Received then the contents of this bill by me, JOHN PAYNE."

A heath is mentioned in 1473, upon which the Burgesses had right of pasturage for horses. Ipswich heath was in Caldwell.

In 1528, the town of Ipswich had many hostelries within it, for the accommodation of travellers. At this date we find the "King's Head, the George, the Tabard, the Griffin, the Assumption, the Turke, the Angel, the Dolphin, and the White Horse." It would seem that the signs of these various places of good entertainment stood upon the town lands, and for which a rent was paid. All these signs mentioned paid 1*s.* per annum, with the exception of the Griffin, Assumption, and White Horse, which paid 6*d.* only. Other inns were the Three Conies, and the Chequers.

Several of these ancient hostelries were situated in the parish of St. Mary Tower. The White Horse, the King's Head, and the Cross, were inns at which the perambulation processions stopped to regale themselves. In the Churchwarden's accounts of this parish are orders for the expenditure of forty shillings at these inns upon perambulation day, and on the anniversary of the "coronacion day" of Elizabeth and Charles the Second.

In 1536, an allusion is made to St. Nicholas green.

In 1569, Prior Woodcock's garden is mentioned.

In 1586, the butts of St. Mary Tower are named, the parish being fined at that period for not having a pair of butts in good order. It was the custom that each parish should have a pair of butts within its boundaries, and most probably each of the parishes of Ipswich were provided in this manner.

Dairy Lane is mentioned in old writings in 1550.

In 1552, Handford Hall is named.

In 1592, a place called Tailor's Hall is mentioned. It was probably the meeting hall of the Guild of the trades of the Clothworkers and Shearmen. Tailor's Hall seems afterwards to have been called the Cloth Hall, in which all cloth brought into the town to be sold was deposited, and examined.

Several conduits and conduit houses existed in Ipswich. A conduit house was let to William Attfen and Robert Andrew, 9th Edward IV.

In the 30th Henry VI, Richard Mellys and Willm. Sewall were ordered to repair a conduit and the conduit house, which appears to have been done at an expense of eighteen marks, and the profit of the conduit was afterwards to be expended in upholding and repairing the same. The rent however was not of large amount, for in the days of Elizabeth the conduit house brought 13*s.* 4*d.* a year only, though it rose to 50*s.* by the 15th James I.*

Several mansions of high pretence, besides those mentioned in the introductory portion of this volume, were situated in Ipswich. The "Lord Curzon's"

* In a description of Ipswich in 1672, given in travels through England, by Mons. Jorevin de Rocheford, "a fine fountain" is mentioned as standing in one of the *best streets*. This "fine fountain" was probably a conduit, brought according to Bacon's MSS. to the Corn-hill, in the 11th James I.

house stood upon the spot now occupied by the lower part of Silent Street. This mansion had a fine porch, and was generally of a magnificent character. An original plan existing in the British Museum,* affords a full knowledge of the structure. This plan is entitled, "The Platt of my Lorde Curssons house at Gipsw$^{h.}$" The whole building appears surrounded by a wall. In front is the porch, and within, on the left, appears the "Porche loge." On the right hand is the great hall, by which the "parlor" is approached. Continuing through the passage from the porch, the "Courtt" is reached, on either side of which are rooms, and among them "a grett parlor." At the rear of the mansion, in the garden, is a chapel, with a devotional closet for the family. The house is divided from the "bak house" and other offices by "a yarde," and beyond stood an orchard and a long range of stabling. The scale on which the plan is drawn is 16 "fott" to an inch, and on admeasurement, the front, in which stands the porch, appears to be about 128 feet in length, and the parlour front, including the chapel, 130 feet. The orchard measures 208 feet, and the garden 100 feet in length.

The family of Curzon were long resident in Ipswich. The mansion passed into the hands of the Bishop of Norwich in the reign of Edward VI, and in the 3rd of Elizabeth the porch went under the name of the Bishop's Gate. In the Dutch wars,† the house was made an hospital, afterwards an inn, and then a malt kiln. In 1625, Bacon has this singular entry with respect to the place. "14th March, a child lost

* *Bib. Cott.* Aug. 1, II, 48. Henry the 8th, when he visited Ipswich on the 8th of October, 1522, slept at Curzon House, and on the next day heard a mass at the chapel of our Lady of Grace.

† *Jermyn's MSS.*

(found) in Curzon House Porch, maintained by the towne and bound out apprentice by the towne." This porch existed down to 1760, when it was demolished.

In another portion of this volume * a description has been given of the Tankard tavern, anciently the residence of Sir Anthony Wingfield, and it is stated that Charles Brandon, brother-in-law of Henry VIII, through marriage with the king's sister Mary, the widowed queen of France, had also a residence near the Tankard, to the north. It is supposed that this mansion afterwards descended to the noble family of Gray, or Grey. The Greys held possession of premises in the town before this period, but an exact knowledge of the position of Lord Grey's house is perhaps not now attainable. By a perambulation of the parish of St. Mary Tower, in the early part of the reign of James I, the Grey family appear resident in the town; for in the directions contained in the document, it is stated, "Then goe to Brooke Street, for a capitall messuage of Richard Seelies over against St. Mary Tower Easte lane, and lyinge uppon the Lord Grey, his house towards the South." It is also found that in 1615, the Grey family were resident in the parish of St. Mary Tower, as in that year ten shillings were received both from "Lord Grey and the lyke of the honor of Lady Grey," for pew rent in the church.†

* See page 33.

† "This most ancient family was seated at Graies, in Cavendish, afterwards called Colts Hall. They were Lords of Graies, Denston, and Stansfield, 8th Edward II. Had one Knight's fee in Cavendish, Waldringfield, Bures, Cornard, &c. 3rd Henry VI. Grey, Henry, was Duke of Suffolk, Marquis of Dorset, and Lord Ferrers of Groby, son of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset. He was beheaded. He left two daughters—Jane married to the Lord Guildford

Besides these, other localities might be mentioned.

In the perambulation of 1351, we read of "Breedling Buss," or "Bridlinge's Oke," which appears to have been situated between the Hadleigh and Bramford roads, near Bordshaw wood.

An ancient building called Bordshaw Hall, stood on the site of the house in the fields on the left side of the lane, leading from the Bramford road to Sproughton, and was the seat of the Bordshaws.

Near Bordshaw Hall, though the exact spot is unknown, stood a chapel called Alburt's Chapel. Its origin, or if connected with any religious house, is alike doubtful, and no portion remains.

In the same perambulation, mention is made of Wetman's How, or Wetman How, which appears to have been situated near the road leading to Bramford.*

In the perambulation of 1522, Danyellis Hille is named, which appears to have been in the neighbourhood of Nacton. Danyellis Hill is probably a corruption of Danes Hill, and signifies a barrow thrown up in the Danish incursions over the grave of the slain.†

In a field opposite St. Helen's church, stood the

Dudley, both beheaded for their rebellion—and Catherine married to the Earl of Hertford. They were possessed of the manors and advowsons of Kellshall, Blythborough, Wysett, Roos, Kersey, and Layham, with divers other lands, 8th Henry VI, 3rd Edward VI, and bare Barry of 6 A and Az. 3 Torteuxes in chief gu." *Gipps. MSS.*

* Most likely a barrow.

† The number of sepulchral mounds raised over the fallen in the Saxon and Danish encounters in this particular locality, is known but generally only, and it is much to be regretted that a particular survey has not been made of them. In a letter received by the author from Mr. Arthur Biddell, of Playford, in June, 1846, the necessity of this survey, before the plough levels for ever with the

remains of an ancient house, pulled down about 1839, or 1840, belonging to the family of Latimer,* and called the Baron's seate.

The wide space, called the Corn Hill contained two most important erections—the Town, or properly speaking, the Guild Hall, and the Town Cross. As before observed, the Guild Hall was anciently St.

earth those mounds which have marked for centuries the prowess of our forefathers, is made evident. Mr. Biddell says:—"Perhaps you will allow me to call your attention to the many existing burial mounds on about the shortest line that could be drawn on a map from the West end of the Martlesham estuary (part of the river Deben) across the heaths to the river Orwell, not far below Ipswich. I do not know a few square miles in any part of the kingdom, on which there are so many tumuli as on the locality I have described. Besides those existing, I am told of many others levelled within fifty years. In one of these, near the North side of the turnpike road from Woodbridge to Ipswich, many (I think about fifteen) urns with ashes and fragments of bone were found about twenty years ago. There must have been many battles fought on these lands, the border of the open champaign country, on the verge of the thick woodlands, and it may be fairly inferred from an inspection of the map of Suffolk, and a knowledge of this part of the county, that the line before referred to was held by invaders, who would be covered from attacks by the Orwell westward, the Deben on the east, and by the sea at Felixstow and Walton on the south. Thus a very considerable extent would be completely covered by a line of only four or five miles in length. This conjectural position is strengthened by the remains of a very large camp, strongly fortified with extensive earthworks, at Burgh, about three miles north of the numerous tumuli before described, and in what was then the woodland fastnesses of the natives. Other fortified camps also might be mentioned, shewing that the locality of Ipswich has been in the early period of our history the scene of important events, the records of which, imperfect as they may be, are not generally known."

* Thomas de Latimer, 10th Edward II. Baron Warinus de Latimer, 10th Edward III. Owners in St. Helen's, and their arms in that church. A house in a field called Baron's seat. Arms of Latimer, Gu a label of three points, a cross flory or. *Gipp's MSS.*

Mildred's Church, a building mentioned in the town records as early as 1314. Bacon, speaking of this building, says "8th Edward II, St. Mildred's church, and All Saints chapel, I finde in the record of the Courts of this towne." Again Bacon gives us another glimpse of the church, by saying "5th Edward III, a tenement in Mildred parish, between a tenement on the west in the Apple Market on the east, one head abutting on St. Mildred's church on the south, and the Corn Hill on the north." In another part of his manuscript he says "Richard II, 1st year, (1377) a Timber Market mentioned in Tower parish, between Mainard's house south, and Mildred's Chapel north." A portion of this structure existed down to the year 1812, as part of the old Town Hall, when it was pulled down, and the present Town Hall erected.

In most towns, and particularly such as were devoted to trade, the Town Cross was a structure of importance. The Town Cross of Ipswich, though with no architectural pretensions, was equally useful with those of greater dignity, and served equally important purposes. The roof was a dome, supported by pillars. On the summit stood a figure of Justice, and round the lower circle of the dome, were carved in wood the armorial bearings of families who contributed to its erection, and shields recording the names of donors.

A Cross was first erected in this town in 1510, by Edmund Daundy, or Dandye, a relative of Cardinal Wolsey, and a considerable benefactor to Ipswich. Such was the estimation in which the Cross was held, that other persons contributed to its stability and repair. It is not improbable that Daundy's Cross was an upright ornamented pillar-cross of stone, which lasted about a century. In 1610, it is found

that Mr. Benjamin Osborne bequeathed £50 towards the erection of a cross. This, most likely was a second cross, and above described as a dome on pillars. Mr. Osborne's gift was not paid until 1628, when the Corporation obtained £44 from his executors for the purpose named in his will.* In 1660, for the purpose of proclaiming the restoration of the Stuarts, the Cross was painted, or rather emblazoned, and partly gilt, and four hogsheads of wine were given away upon the occasion. This structure existed down to 1812, when it was removed. At the period of its destruction a figure of Justice ornamented the top of the dome. The effigy was transferred to the front of the Corn Exchange, and its symbolical scales removed.

It is not unlikely that upon the spot where Edmund Daundy erected his cross, the Corn Hill, stood one of the ancient crosses known to have occupied various sites in Ipswich, when the wards and leets were set out. These crosses often served as landmarks for the separation of parishes, and of precincts of religious houses. The establishment of several Friaries in Ipswich tends to the conclusion that they might have been erected for the purpose of gathering the people around them to hear the doctrine of the Carmelites and Dominicans. Daundy, who was the founder of a Chauntry in the Church of St. Lawrence, perhaps out

* On a portion of this Cross, still preserved by Mr. James Conder, Ipswich, is the following inscription :—

BENJAMIN
OSBORNE
GAVE 44
POVNDES
TO THE B
VILDING
OF THIS
CROS.

This is within a shield, but without bearings or merchant's mark.

of the spirit of piety, built the first Town Cross to afford accommodation to those popular teachers in the principal part of the town. At the date of Osborne's bequest, the people were no longer under the spiritual direction of monks and friars, and a convenient building was therefore erected, which, though called the Cross, from the circumstance of occupying the site of Daundy's structure, had yet no single feature of the old Cross about it.

The importance of these erections is well known. Scarcely a town of antiquity in the kingdom was without a Cross. Erected in the market place they served many important purposes. Proclamations were made from Town Crosses. Offenders against the laws of the market and of the town, such as forestallers and regraters, were placed in the stocks or pillory at the Town Cross, and when the spirit moved the noisy friar to plead for the poverty of his order, or denounce the iniquity of his flock, he was generally certain that at the Town Cross he should find a congregation easily collected to whom he could address himself.*

Some memorials of the history of the various monastic establishments will be found in another portion of this volume, but in treating of ancient localities, the situation of the buildings connected with them may fairly claim attention. It has generally been agreed, that the ancient monk was a fair judge

* The Cross of Ipswich has been more than once celebrated in verse. At the period of its demolition, Bernard Barton, the Quaker Poet, lamented its removal.* Mr. Batley's MSS. contain several addresses to the Cross, some of which do not appear to have been published. In a fine poem, by Miss Elizabeth Charlesworth, prefixed to the second edition of *Historic Sites of Suffolk*, is also an allusion to the removal of the Cross at Ipswich. Indeed, the old structure appears to have been a great favorite with the inhabitants of the town, and the regrets at its departure are numerous.

* *See Suffolk Garland*, p. 160.

of good sites and pleasant prospects, and it has been stated of the founders of monastical institutions, that they generally erected their habitations amid those natural beauties, which, while perhaps they excited devotion, served to impress even the devout with the beauty and pleasantness of a world below. The abbeys of Fountains, Rivaulx, Netley, Tintern and others are still the admiration of tourists, and visited by all lovers of beauty in nature, for picturesqueness of situation. The county of Suffolk furnishes equal examples. What finer spot could have been selected for the dwelling of man than the sites of the ancient abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, or the lesser establishments of Butley and Leiston.

With the exception, however, of Trinity Priory, which stood upon the site of Christ Church mansion, the religious houses of Ipswich occupied situations by no means pleasant. The Grey Friars, standing upon the south-west of the present St. Nicholas Church, in early times must have been surrounded by water and bog to a considerable extent. Did the friars build their house in "a fennie place out of the way, to the end they mought so much the more giue their minds to heauenly things?" Perhaps not, but were bound to the spot by the gift of the founders. From whatever cause this establishment was placed amid bog and water, the inmates considerably improved the soil upon which the friary was situated. Environing themselves with extensive and fruitful gardens, the productions of this locality, even in modern times, attest the attention which the original cultivators paid to horticultural science.

The situation of the Black Friars, the remains of whose house afterwards formed Christ's Hospital and the Grammar School, was little superior. At the rear

of the premises ran the ancient ditch and wall of the town, and also a stream of water. No doubt the near neighbourhood of the quay brought the friars more contiguous upon the lower side of the town with the habitations of secular inhabitants, but they were enabled to keep a wide plot of ground in front of their monastery unappropriated, in order that the great desire which existed even in noble personages to be buried within the precincts of the Black Friars, might suffer no diminution—but that "room and verge enough" should exist for the inhumation of all who desired to lay their bones within the precincts of an establishment to whose prosperity they had contributed. Within the area of ground lying between Foundation-street and the Lower Wash, and on a portion of which the Friary was erected, repose the bodies of many of the high-born of the land. It is to be hoped, that curiosity will find no inducement to disturb the dust in which are laid so many benefactors of this religious house.

The house of the White Friars, or Carmelites, occupied a preferable site to either yet mentioned, namely—a portion of Queen-street, and on land to the west and east.

The priory of St. Peter and Paul stood upon ground near the church of St. Peter, and its site was afterwards occupied by the short-lived establishment of Secular Canons, founded by Cardinal Wolsey. This priory had also the disadvantage of being placed in a low situation, though perhaps not closely surrounded by houses. The burial ground ran towards the north, upwards, and nearly parallel with St. Peter's street. Here the remains of a place of sepulture probably connected with this priory, were discovered in 1820.

Unlike other monastical establishments of Ipswich,

the situation of the Priory of the Holy Trinity within the park of Christ Church, realized all that could be wished by those who delighted in the beauties and advantages of nature. The monastery stood upon the spot now occupied by the present mansion. At the rear still rises the high ground which sheltered the brethren from the winds of the north, while on the east, they were equally defended by high lands lying in that direction. No doubt the domain was well timbered and otherwise pleasant. Fruitfulness spread around, and, what to the monk was perhaps as necessary to the true enjoyment of his life, a fine prospect. The monastery of Christ Church, shut out from the town and the busy intrusion of a community of traders, was thus rendered above all others by its situation, conducive to contemplation and study. No fruits, however, have been handed down to us, that the monks applied themselves to any great exercise of their minds among these advantages. Attention to the due performances imposed on them at vigil, fast, and feast, is undoubted, but beyond this, nothing is recorded to the good memory of the Monks of Holy Trinity, but a minute attention to the rents and profits of their possessions.

The religious house of White Friars, occupied the space now filled by Queen-street, and extended behind the south side of the Butter Market, and across Old Gaol Lane so called because of the existence of a gaol upon the spot. No advantages of situation attached to this locality. An arch belonging to the establishment was standing within the memory of man, but all architectural traces have now been removed. Upon the modern disturbance of the soil in Queen-street for the foundation of houses erected a few yards

beyond the corner of the Butter Market, the place of sepulture of this house of Friars was discovered.

Such is a description of some of the old localities and buildings of the town. Could we but people the modern streets of Ipswich with the "old familiar" inhabitants of a far-gone era, how strange would seem the change between the past and present. In the days of Edward III, when that monarch resided occasionally at his manor house at Walton, and collected in the port of Orwell the armaments with which he waged war upon, and achieved conquests over his continental foes, stalwart warriors trod the unpaved streets and lanes, and the "old Kay" echoed to the bustle of maritime preparations. Grey, Black, and White Friars took their daily walks in the town, and entering the houses of the poorer inhabitants, preached upon the infallibility of the doctrines professed by them. Houses of timber, with tall gables and carved angle posts stood in the best localities. Merchants and traders followed their daily occupations within, disturbed only by the ordinary duties of the municipality, or the extraordinary exertions they were bound to afford upon the receipt of the King's mandate for "a fifteenth" towards state exigencies. Then each man carried his dagger, and paid "blood-draught" if he wounded his fellow. A club was kept in the shop of every trader for defence, and he was charged to protect his neighbour if attacked. The lanes and streets were lighted by a lanthorn hung upon a pole, and placed at each door. The wife of the ancient Bailiff was escorted home by guards and extra attendants furnished by the general community. The town was surrounded by deep entrenchments, and the fortified wall, if not perfect, stood unbroken in various parts of its circuit.

VISITS OF MONARCHS TO THE TOWN.

PSWICH has frequently been visited by monarchs in early times, and the records of their sojourn are extant in several instances. The connection of the port with the continent, when our kings visited France or the Low countries either on missions of peace or war, caused several to make Ipswich a place of sojourn. Without now specifying earlier monarchs, Edward I was more than once within the town, and when he married his daughter Elizabeth to the Count of Holland, remained here with a splendid court several days. Edward III frequently visited his manor house at Walton, near Felixstow, and as before mentioned, collected his armaments at the "port of Orwell." In later periods, Mary and Elizabeth visited Ipswich, important events happening to each while located in this place. Visits of a minor character have been also made by other sovereigns, of which no particular mention need be given.

John seems to have visited the town in the last year of his reign, 1216; if not at earlier periods.

By the Issues of the Exchequer it is seen that Henry III was within the town in June, 1241, and probably set sail from the port in that year. One of these accounts contains an order of the King, witnessed by the Archbishop of York, dated at Ipswich, to pay Philip de Caumdour forty shillings, in liquidation of twenty-one pence per day, due for the livery of Caumdour, his men, horse, and dogs.

In 1296, Edward I visited the town, and presented his daughter in marriage to the Count of Holland. The ceremony took place in the King's chapel, in the priory of St. Peter and Paul, on the 8th day of January, of the year 1296. Fortunately the local antiquary is not left without a minute record of the event, the entire proceedings down to an exact account of the jewels the royal father bestowed on his fair daughter being preserved in manuscript.*

It appears that the ceremony attracted the inhabitants of the circumjacent country to Ipswich, and not only was the town filled with the troops, and court attendants of the lady Elizabeth and the Count, but thousands of persons from the neighbourhood made this place their sojourn. The monasteries also put on their best appearance. New habiliaments were given to the inmates, the furniture of the altars and crucifixes cleaned, and the valuables which the monks possessed, displayed to the greatest advantage. Minstrels and jongluers attended

* Wardrobe accounts, Add. MSS. 7965, *Brit. Mus.* Some time before the local contents of this important MS. were discovered by the author, he possessed a partial transcript, apparently of this volume, containing many entries now given in these pages. They appear to have been gleaned from the general account for the purpose of ascertaining the cost of the marriage in one view, whereas, in the Museum MS., the bridal entries are by no means consecutive.

the marriage in great numbers, and until the feelings of joy were exhausted, the entire population, residents and strangers, followed one course of unbroken feasting and enjoyment.

Edward appears to have entered the town on the 23rd of December, 1296, and his almoner commenced immediately a series of gifts to the poor people amounting in the total to a considerable sum. For instance, an order to defray the expenses of food for five hundred and five poor persons for the Lord's day, and the whole week following, according to ancient custom, and for the food of twenty-three additional poor persons, every day in the week, also according to ancient custom—£4 3*s.* 3*d.* was given. For food of three thousand, one hundred and forty poor people, by precept of the King, for the same week, to wit, on the Lord's day, one hundred and forty; on the day of the nativity of our Lord, two hundred; on the day of St. Stephen, seven hundred; on the day of St. John, seven hundred; on the day of the holy Innocents, seven hundred; and on the day of St. Thomas, one hundred—£19 12*s.* 6*d.* was paid. Two other sums of £18 10*s.* 9*d.*, and £11 5*s.* 9*d.* were also distributed, the most trifling circumstance operating to the advantage of the recipients. Food to one hundred poor persons was given, because the King did not enter the chapel on a certain day. Indeed, almsgiving appears to have been as much a habit, as an offering of grace and charity, and the monarch does not perform the most trifling act of life without moving in a shower of money, distributed by his almoner among the people who surround him.

On the day of his arrival in the town, he leaves in oblations at his chapel, at Ipswich, viis.

On the 24th of December, the King's oblations

at the great altar in the church of the Priory of St. Peter, were viis.

On the 25th day of December, for oblations in his chapel, within the priory aforesaid—to wit—at the great altar, in the same chapel, viis.; at the great altar, in the church of the same priory, viis.; and at the cross of——, upon the said great altar, viis.

On the same day, in oblations shared at two masses celebrated in the King's chapel, and at high mass celebrated in the great church aforesaid in the presence of the King, and also at mass celebrated in the same church in presence of the Duchess of Brabant* and the lady Elizabeth, by the King's precept, xxis. viiid.

On the 29th of December, Edward gives viis. in oblations, at the altar of St. Thomas, in the church of the same priory.

To the preaching brothers (Friars) of Ipswich, for their food for four days—to wit—for three days, on the 24th of December for the first account, and for the fourth day—to wit—St. Thomas, the martyr's day, in honour of the same day, by the hands of brother John of Wrotham, at Ipswich, 4 marks.

To the Friars minors of the same town, by the hands of brother Peter of Marclesham,† lxjs. iiijd.

To the brothers of Mount Carmel (White Friars) of the same town, for the same, by the hands of brother John of Bongaye, xlivs.†

On the 3rd of January, the King paid in monies,

* The King's daughter, Margaret, the wife of John, second Duke of Brabant, who appears to have visited this country, in order to witness the ceremony and accompany her sister to the continent.

† Brother of the Friary.

"as well placed on the book, as cast among the men standing round at the door, on entering the church of the same priory, when the Lord Thomas de Moltone* betrothed Alianore with the ring, by the hands of the Lord John de Benstede, xl*s.* x*d.*"

On the 7th of January, in monies, "as well placed upon the book, as thrown among the men standing round at the door, in entering the great church in the priory aforesaid, when the Count of Holland betrothed Elizabeth the King's daughter with a ring of gold, lx*s.*"

On the same day, "in oblations shared at the mass celebrated at the great altar in the church of the priory aforesaid for the nuptials of the Count of Holland and the King's daughter, xij*s.*"

On the 8th of January, the King's oblations in the church of the priory of the Holy Trinity,† at the great altar of the same church, amounted to vii*s.*; at the shew of reliques at the same altar, vii*s.* was also paid. A similar sum was given at the same place by the hands of the messenger of the Lord Edward, the King's son.

To the preaching Friars was paid for one day's sustenance when the lady Elizabeth was affianced, xiij*s.* iiij*d.*. The Friars minors were also paid, xvii*s.*

Thus far the King's alms. The Count of Holland, it appears, remained at Colchester until his presence was required at Ipswich, as shown by the following entry.

* This was the marriage of the King's favourite, a not unusual circumstance at royal celebrations of similar character. The family of de Moltone held large estates in Thorington, in this county. In the fourteenth of Edward III, Thomas de Moltone was Lord Chief Justice. They bore for their coat gules, three luces argent.

† Trinity Priory, on the site of Christ Church.

To Walter de Bruges, clerk to John, Count of Holland, for the expenses of the same Count and family, and horses five days at the end of December, staying by the King's precept at the cost of the King, at Colchester, while the King was at Ipswich—in bread, fish, large meat, poultry, fire-wood, ginger and other necessaries for the household of the Count, for the said time, and for the wages of nine attendants of the Count, together with six carriages hired for their conveyance from Colchester to Ipswich for two days, as appeared by the account. (No sum named.)

The presents made by the King to his daughter appear to have been of a magnificent description, as seen by the wardrobe accounts.

To Ade, the King's goldsmith, for the hire of a car with five horses, for carrying from London to Ipswich divers coffers and panniers containing jewels provided for the Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter, for seven days going and returning—per day xxij*d.*; by the hands of Robert de Monte there xij*s.* x*d.*

To Richard de Farndon, goldsmith of London, for the reparation of a coronet and a knot (nouch) provided for the Lady Elizabeth against her nuptials, by the hands of the treasury, v*s.*

To a certain jeweller of London, coming by order of the treasurer from London to Ipswich with certain jewels provided for the Duchess of Brabant, which jewels did not please the said Duchess. For his expenses going, tarrying, and returning, and for the hire of one hackney for carrying the same jewels, in the beginning of the month of January, iiij*s.* v*d.*

To Sir Reginald Ferre, sent by the King to London with certain knights, burgesses, and others who came from Holland, going to London to the Count of Holland. For the hire of one carriage with

five horses carrying the luggage of the same, going from Ipswich to London, and returning to Colchester with the said Count, xxij*d.* per day, for nine days in the month of December, xvi*s.* vi*d.*; and for one carriage with three horses for the same luggage for seven days in the month aforesaid, going from "la Neyland," xiiij*d.* per day, viij*s.* ij*d.*; to the same for nine hired horses for the same Hollanders for five days, vi*d.* for each hackney a day, xxij*s.*; for three hackneys for the same for nine days aforesaid, xiij*s.* vj*d.*; to the same for six horses hired for the same for three days, ix*s.*; to the same for one carriage hired on the way for other carriages to be unloaded, vi*d.*; to the same for two carriages, each with four horses, and eight hackneys hired as well for the luggage of the same as for their riding, for one day coming from Colchester to Ipswich to the King, vii*s.*

To Ade, the King's goldsmith, for a large ruby and a large emerald brought to put in a certain coronet belonging to the Countess of Holland, in place of two stones lost when *the King threw the coronet into the fire* at Ipswich, in the beginning of the month of January, and for setting the same in the same coronet, xl*s.*

To Henry, the robe maker of the Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter, for divers expenses which he made about the robes, curtains, and other necessaries of the same Countess, to be made up and prepared against the espousals of the same, in the month of December—to wit—for the pay of thirty-five working tailors for four days and four nights, each per day and night, vi*d.*; to the same for making linings, and canvass for the same Countess, vij*s.* viij*d.*; to the same for thread and silk bought for making up the said robes, for silver-gilt buttons for the same, and rings,

and one brail for curtains, together with candles for the said workmen and carriage, xxiv*s.*; and for a house hired for the said workmen, iv*s.*; and for the expenses of the said Henry staying after the said workmen, ij*d.* per diem, ij*s.*; and in the expense of three serving men taking care of the said things at Ipswich, ij*d.* a day for each, iij*s.*; and in the hire of two carriages conveying the wardrobe of the said Countess from Catteswade* to London, for five days in the month of January, at xviij*d.* each carriage, per diem, xv*s.*; and in the expenses of the said Henry and one of his men going with the said carriage for the said five days, xxij*s.* *ob.*; by the hands of self in the same place, the 19th day of July, vi*li.* viij*s.* vi*d.* *ob.*

The munificence of Edward was strongly apparent on this occasion, by his numerous gifts of gold and silver plate. A favorite of the Lady Elizabeth, Alianore, daughter of the Lady Erinetrude de Shake vill, married to Thomas de Moltone, had presents of this nature given her, and one Sir Richard de Radings, priest, for the celebration of his "new mass," obtains, either through his impressive mode of performance, or in consequence of the merit of his production, several silver-gilt cups and covers. A few items, from the peculiarly rich character of the gifts, must be given more at length.

A coronet of gold, first provided for the Countess of Lucenburgh, value xc*l.* delivered by the King's precept to the Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter, for her espousals at Ipswich, on the 7th day of the month of January.

A coronet of gold, value xx marks, and a tress and chaplet, of the value of xl*s.*, given by the Lord the King to Alianore de Burgo, on the 3rd day of

* Cattawade.

January, to put upon her head on the day of her nuptials.

A silver cup, with an enamelled ball, value xxvi*l.* viii*s.* i*ob.*, given by the King's precept to the Lady Elizabeth, his daughter, the Countess of Holland, at Ipswich, on the 7th day of January, for the service of the same Countess at table.

A golden coronet, set with rubies, emeralds, and pearls, value l*l.*, given by the king to the Lady Elizabeth, his daughter, the Countess of Holland, for the espousals of the same, on the 3rd day of January.

A silver cup, with a foot and cover, which belonged to the Abbot of Glastenbury, who died in the nineteenth year, weight iv marcs, less xx pence, offered by the Lord John de Wickham, in the name of the King, at the great altar of the church of the priory of the Holy Trinity of Ipswich, on the 16th day of January, for holding the body of Christ.

The feasting and rejoicing upon the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth was equal and befitting the daughter of a King. The town, as before noted, was full of minstrels and persons who performed dramas, or at least entertainments in which assumed characters were introduced. Much of this pleasantry took place in the "King's Hall," but where this building stood is now lost to us. Probably, the royal palace was but a temporary erection, though the inclement period of the year when the nuptials were celebrated is against this conclusion. "The King's Hall" might have been the Town House, Toll House, or Moot Hall, a building of this character standing in a wide space within the walls, afterwards called Shire House Hill.* Wherever its locality, the hall must have been of no mean proportions, but sufficiently

* Not the Corn Hill.

large to have accommodated a numerous company, who, from their gambols needed room for sport. Or perhaps the "King's Hall" was the hall of one of the Priories. A few items will show the nature of the entertainments, and the cost of the actors, "vindulators" and citharists.

To Matilda Makejoie, the dancer, performing her dances before the Lord Edward, the King's son, in the hall of the said King, by the gift of the same Lord Edward, through the hands of Nicholas Archard, at Ipswich, on the 27th of December ij*s.*

To Reginald Page, John Vidulator, (fiddler) and the *Earl Fitz Simon*, minstrels, performing their minstrelsy upon the day of the nuptials of the Lady Elizabeth, &c. each of them, l*s.* vij*li.* x*s.*

To Griscote, Visage, and Magote,* minstrels, performing in the same manner their minstrelsy before the same Lady Elizabeth, on the aforesaid day, by the hands of the said Lord John, in the same place, on the same day, to each of them xx*s.* by the gift of the King, lx*s.*

To divers minstrels performing their minstrelsy before the Count of Holland and the Countess on the day of their nuptials, by gift of the said Count, by the King's precept—to wit—to Ricardino, the fiddler, Morello, the King;* Guilloto de Ros; Janino le lentor, Tom, the Fool,* each of them, l*s.* To two citharists, to two of the King's trumpeters, to John Drake the conjuror, to Dureme, to Bandetto, to Thomelino the fiddler, to two of the Bishop of Durham's citharists, to two of the Earl Marshall's minstrels, to Hamoni Lestinour, Lambyn Clay, John de Cressin, to each of them, xx*s.*; to the citharist

* Names of characters probably assumed for the performance of antics.

of the Lord John Comyn, 1 marc; to Druetto; to Monthane and Jaketto de Scot, the Kings, each of them, xl*s*. To the King's son's conjuror, to four of the King's and his son's guards, to two of the Earl of Oxford's and Sir Thomas de Molton's citharists, to Henry the harper, to Lawrence the harper, to Martinetto the taborer, to each of them, x*s*.; and to some other minstrels among them in common, by the hands of Sir Christian de Raphurst, xlvi*s*. viij*d*.

The next is a curious entry.

To Sir Peter de Champvent, by the gift of the King, for the value of the spousal bed of the Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Holland, which he should have had for his fee, when she was married to the Count of Holland, by the hands of Peter de Ulleye, his knight, at Westminster, the third of August xx marcs.

To the Lady Elizabeth, the King's daughter, Countess of Holland, by the gift of the King, for the value of her zone of pearls, which she ought to have had on her marriage, by the King's gift, and did not have, by the hands of Sir John de Western, knight xx marcs.

All matters connected with the marriage being completed, the Count of Holland was conveyed down the Orwell to Harwich, from which port himself and suit set sail with a large retinue for their own country, in vessels, many of which belonged to the port of Ipswich.

During the quarrel of Edward II with his Queen, the latter attempting to make a party against her husband, landed at Orewell, on the 22nd of September, 1326, and visited the town of Ipswich.

Intelligence of the landing of the Queen soon

reached the monarch, and in five days from the receipt of the news a proclamation was issued for the pursuit and destruction of all traitors and invaders excepting her Majesty, other royal personages, and the Earl of Kent. On the 28th of September, the King offered a reward for the head of Mortimer, with pardon to the murderer, if Mortimer came to so violent a death.

The warlike Edward III was frequently a visitor to the town during the long period of his continental wars. It has been already stated, that he resided when in this part of the country, at his embattled manor-house, at Walton, a spot convenient for the embarkation of his armies, and arrangement of his maritime forces.

Here also it is not unlikely came his Queen Philippa of Hainault. That she was acquainted with this part of England, no question exists. At Norwich, it is well known, she established a colony of woollen manufactures in 1335. This she principally effected through a Flemish weaver, John Kempe, whom she invited, with a long train of his relatives and friends to leave his native land, and exercise the mystery of dyeing and cloth weaving in England. It is unlikely that the King visiting Yarmouth frequently, as also Ipswich, should have left the Queen to follow out her own useful designs in the same locality alone. It may be assumed, therefore, with every probability of correctness, that both Ipswich and Walton were as familiar to the knowledge of Philippa, as to her sovereign, Edward.

Henry IV visited Ipswich, and it is not unlikely that his daughter Blanche sailed from "Orewell" after payment of her dowry, on the 21st day of June, 1401.

Probabilities incline to the secret presence of Edward IV in Ipswich, under the protection of his powerful supporter, Sir John Howard, of Tendring Hall. In another portion of this volume it will be found stated, that Edward was sustained in safety at Lynn, by the power and good offices of this person. The influence held over the town of Ipswich by Sir John, and his control over its shipping, favor the supposition that Lynn was not the only hiding place of Edward in the eastern part of this kingdom.

The records of the town furnish evidence of the visits of Henry VII. Indeed, he seems to have been here more than once during the first year of his reign, 1485, as in that year Bacon in his manuscript memorials says:—"Monday after Peter, Assessors moved for a summe of money for the King's entertainment at his *next* coming."

In 1522, Henry VIII came to the town. He arrived on the 8th of October, and left the next day, taking up his quarters at Lord Curzon's house. Almost as soon as he had risen he paid a visit to the chapel of Our Lady, and made his oblations at the shrine. Henry had not yet changed his views with respect to religion, but followed the peculiarities of that worship he afterwards used his best energies to destroy.

Previous to this date, his Queen, Catherine of Arragon had paid a visit to Ipswich. She arrived on Septuagesima Thursday, 1517, and after being escorted by the Bailiffs to Our Lady of Grace, from Brooke's Hall, she also honored Lord Curzon with her company. On the following day her Majesty rose with the lark, as it appears she paid another visit to the Lady chapel as early as six o'clock. Her Majesty

rode on horseback, both going to and departing from the chapel, and after taking leave of her host, Lord Curzon, she went on her journey into Essex, the Corporation again keeping her company until she arrived at Bourne-bridge, when they left her. Both Catherine and her spouse were presented with a purse of money on their visits. The Queen was favoured with twenty pounds in nobles, and the King fifty marks in nobles.

Upon July 31st and August 1st, 1553, Mary was at Ipswich upon her triumphant journey to London from Framlingham, at the death of her brother Edward VI. To this town also came Cecil, having been despatched by the council from London to seek an audience of the Queen, and also excuse himself for his tergiversations in political matters. The county of Suffolk deeply espoused the cause of Mary from revenge for the cruelties of the Protector Northumberland during Kett's rebellion, and several Protestant and many Catholic gentry supported her with their forces. The first Suffolk gentleman who took up arms in her behalf was Sir John Sulyard of Wetherden, who was followed by Sir Henry Bedingfield, of Redlingfield; Sir William Drury, of Hawstead; Sir Thomas Cornwallis, of Brome, and others. Mary left Framlingham castle with an army of twenty thousand men, and the whole of this force occupied the town of Ipswich on the night of the last day of July, in the before mentioned year. It is not improbable that Mary had many and zealous friends in the town also, who aided her cause with advice, men, and money. Some of these coadjutors were members of the corporate body.

Queen Elizabeth paid three visits to Ipswich—the first in July, 1561, the second in 1565, and the

third in 1577. Indeed it would seem that this Queen was twice within the town during the year first named, as Bacon says under date 10th of June—"All the inhabitants of the town shall be assessed to the coste and charges for the entertainment of the Queen, at her *nexte* coming to the town. And the assessors are named (this refers to the extended entry in the Great Court Books,) and such as shall not pay their assessment, shall be disfranchised." Elizabeth was at Harwich on the second of August, and on the sixth and three following days she is found at Ipswich. The expenses of the court were rather more than one hundred pounds per day. One recusant to the orders of the Corporation is named. A burgess who was assessed at £8 refused to pay, when the Great Court exerted their power and disfranchised him. Finding himself marked with approbium for not doing honour to her Majesty, he at length paid the demand upon him, but as an additional punishment the learned body made him also pay £6 to regain his freedom.

Although the Corporation were anxious to mark their sense of any depreciation of their character by others, they did not pay a very immediate attention to the payment of demands due by them upon this entertainment, for it is not until the year after the first visit of the Queen they make proclamation, "that the debts due to any inhabitants of the town touching the late entertainment should be brought in within fourteen days after the first of May, when the same being considered and allowed by Mr. Bailiffs and others thereunto appointed, the same shall be paid, but not otherwise."

The chief artificer on one occasion of the presence of the Queen appears to have been John Mynter, who falling afterwards into poverty, received for handy

work exhibited in the royal visit and for other services, the sum of twenty shillings from the Treasurer.*

The appearance of the Queen in the town proved of considerable service to the community. Her majesty not only rated the clergy upon their laxity of behaviour, but also the authorities upon the filthy condition of the streets. A marked improvement certainly took place in Ipswich at this period, as is incontestably shewn by the constant exhortations and promulgations of laws for the preservation of cleanliness which emanated from the body.

For many years after the first visit of the Queen, the birth-day of her majesty was kept with peculiar pomp and at considerable expense. Speeches were made upon the occasion, and individuals, as seen by the town books, were rewarded by gifts of money from the authorities for efforts made by them to render this anniversary one of public rejoicing as well as of private enjoyment. Still like many other towns, the inhabitants were much indebted to the maiden monarch —she confirmed the charters by which particular immunities were held, and her frequent visits were of course worthy of some remembrance to those who paid for them. Perhaps, however, had not Elizabeth felt desirous of visiting the rich clothiers of the district, she would not have travelled so far among the wise-men of the East.

* 14th Elizabeth, 6th Dec. "Item, it is agreed at this Assembly that John Mynter in respect of certain s'vices and chardges he was att att ye Quenes ma^tie^s. beinge in the towne, and for other considerations.....Att his humble sute and respectinge his pov'tye shall have given to hym by the treasurer xx*s.* so that he come at the next audyt and showe hym selfe or his wyef well contented to desyer the same and geve a gen'rall acquittance." *Great Court Book.*

The Queen's visit to Ipswich was not productive of unalloyed pleasure, either to herself or suite. Indeed here happened a catastrophe most tragic in its ending, and which soiled the fame of even Majesty itself. In Ipswich, Elizabeth became acquainted with the unfortunate circumstance that Lady Catherine Gray, sister of Lady Jane Gray, had been some years married to Edward Earl of Hertford, and was preparing to become a mother. This lady was nearly connected with Elizabeth, being a grand-daughter of Mary, sister of Henry VIII, who at the death of the king of France, whom she had married, espoused Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. To the issue of his sister, Henry had left the kingdom by will. Catherine Gray, therefore, stood in the same connection with the blood royal as Lady Jane Gray, and independently of the objections entertained by Elizabeth against the marriage of those about her, she most likely remembered the circumstances connected with Lady Jane, and endeavoured to settle the discovered event in her own way. The bride was therefore separated from her husband, and consigned to the care of Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, who placed his charge at Cockfield Hall, near Yoxford, Suffolk, a mansion of which he was the owner. At this place she died. In a volume of manuscript church notes* taken about 1656, it is stated that the bowels of this unfortunate relative to the Queen were deposited in Yoxford church. The compiler says, speaking of this building:—"The bowels of the Lady Katharine, wife of Edward Seimour, Earl of Hertford (rest here). She was daughter of Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk, and of Frances daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and of Mary the

* An abstract of these church notes in possession of the author.

French Queen, the younger of the two daughters of King Henry VII, (of whom the elder King James and King Charles were descended). This lady Katharine had been committed prisoner to Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, for marrying without the Queen's knowledge, and was by him kept at Cockfield Hall, in Yoxford, (being his house) where she died. I have been oftimes told by aged people in Yoxford that after her death a little dog she had would never eat any meat, but lay and died on her grave." The discovery of the marriage took place on the occasion of Elizabeth's first visit to Ipswich.

Although perhaps the arrival of Mary, Queen of France, mother of the unfortunate Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I, at the port of Harwich cannot be classed as connected with visits of crowned heads to Ipswich, yet as the landing of this illustrious person was formally communicated to the Bailiffs, and those persons put themselves to expense in honouring her arrival upon the shores of this kingdom, some slight notice of the event cannot be considered as altogether unrelated with the subject of royal visits.

Under date October 29, 14th Charles I, Bacon has the following entry: — "The Queen's mother landed at Harwich, the 29th of this month. At the receipt of Sir H. Vane's letter to this town, they (the Corporation) sent provision down for the Queen's entertainment, and after, the duke of Lenox, the Lord Goring, and Sir Henry Vane sent to the Bayliffs to dine with the Bayliffs (of Harwich?) The charges of all which it is ordered shall be borne by the towne."

The arrival of the French queen in this country, cost the town of Ipswich ninety pounds, as the Bailiffs were at some expense in ascertaining at what

port her Majesty intended to land, and when landed, it appears also to have been a duty incumbent on them to apprize the king of the circumstance.

The items disbursed on this duty, preserved, are as follows:—For two journies to Walton with horses for the Duke of Lenox and other lords on their coming to Ipswich iii*s.* To a messenger's charges on riding to Canterbury with a letter to inform the Lords of the landing of the Queen's mother of France at Harwich, and for the hire of post-horses from Gravesend to Canterbury xliii*s.* Paid the page of the Duke of Lenox his fee or gratuity from the town xl*s.* Messenger riding to the Court to inform his Majesty of the landing of the Queen's mother at Harwich, and for the hire of a horse from Romford to London xxxv*s.* Messenger for riding to the coast towns and to Yarmouth to enquire about the landing of the Queen's mother for Mr. Bailiffs to inform his Majesty thereof according to a letter received from the Earl of Holland xx*s.* For divers things sent down to Harwich as a gratuity on the Queen's landing there xlii*l.* i*s.* xi*d.* Paid for provision and other things for the entertaining of the Duke of Lenox, Sir Henry Vane, and other lords on their coming to Ipswich from the Queen's mother at Harwich, as by an order of Assembly, xxi*l.* xvii*s.* x*d.* To Sir Richard Brook's (Broke) man for bringing and carrying the said noblemen from Walton to Ipswich and back again, as a gratuity from the town xx*s.* Other monies disbursed for horses taken up for the said lords when they came to Ipswich, and for the men with them vi*l.* xvi*s.* iv*d.* Small bills iv*l.* xiv*s.* viii*d.* Total lxxxiii*l.* xi*s.* ix*d.**

Charles II, paid a visit to the town on the 5th of October, 1668; but left on the next day. He

* Town Treasurer's Accounts for 1638.

sojourned at Christ Church, then in the possession of Lord Hereford, and although the municipal authorities appear to have welcomed him on arrival, yet with this exception, the exhibition of a little state, and the expenditure of seventy-four pounds of gunpowder when he left, no particular honours were offered him. His Majesty was attended, however, by a numerous train of officers of the court, who, as was the custom, took care to levy their contributions on the town to a considerable extent. Seventy-two pounds, twelve shillings, is the amount paid by the town Treasurer, as fees of homage, on the evening of the day his Majesty made his appearance within the place — a sum of considerable meanness, and more suggestive of homage to the tribe of court sycophants, than to the monarch himself.

The particulars are as follows :—

	£.	s.	d.
To the Gent. Ushers, Dayly Wayters	05	00	00
To the Gent. Ushers of the Prevy Chamber	05	00	00
To the Gent. Ushers, Quarter Wayters ..	01	00	00
To the Serjant att Arms	03	06	08
To the Knight Harbinger.....	03	06	08
To the Knight Marshall	01	00	00
To the Sewers of the Chamber	01	00	00
To the Yeoman of the Wardrobe.....	00	16	08
To the Groome and Pages of the Wardrobe	01	00	00
To the Serjant Trumpett and Officers	03	16	08
To the 4th Yeoman of the Moneth	02	00	00
To the Yeoman Ushers.....	01	00	00
To the Gromes of the Chamber	01	00	00
To the Pages of the Presence	00	10	00
To the Yeomen Harbingers	01	00	00
To the Coachmen	00	10	00
To the Footmen	02	00	00
To the Porter att the Gate	01	00	00
To the Yeomen of the Hall	00	10	00
To the Gester	00	10	00
To the Surveyor of the Wayes.....	01	00	00
*	£36	06	00

* Batley's MSS. These items are said to appear in a manuscript History of the Customs, &c. of the borough of Ipswich, by Robert

It appears also that these items were paid to Thomas Duppa, on behalf of the parties holding the several offices named above, and that Mr. Duppa, a "Gent. Wayter," then claimed payment of the same total for himself, which exorbitant imposition was also paid. Added to this, the charges for the horses of the King's guard were paid by the town, and the men and trained bands allowed fifty-two pints of sack, and fifty-three pints of white wine.

James, Duke of York, afterwards the unfortunate James II, visited Ipswich three times, and partook of the hospitality provided for him by the corporate body.

In 1693, William the Third honoured the town by his presence, the body corporate entertaining the monarch at a banquet which cost them £30 19 5.*

In 1736, George the Second passed through Ipswich. He landed at Lowestoft upon the 14th of January, and travelled onward to this town on his road to London. The Bailiffs and Corporation arrayed themselves in the costume of office, and placed themselves at the North-gate, awaiting his Majesty's arrival. The crowd, however, had gathered so densely at this point, the road being narrow, the Corporate body could not sustain their ground, and retreated to the White Horse inn, where in due time they presented themselves, and paid the accustomed

Heyward, and were contributed to the pages of the Suffolk Literary Chronicle, in May, 1838. The possesser of the original document is not known to the author.

* In the Council Chamber hangs a full length picture of this monarch, which Mr. Batley says was originally intended to represent James II, but that sovereign having abdicated while the painting was in progress, the features were changed to those of the new King—the old drapery remaining.

honours to the royal visitor. After partaking of refreshment, his Majesty proceeded on his journey.

George the Third does not appear to have visited the town, nor his successors, George the Fourth, or William the Fourth, as sovereigns. The Prince Regent, however, as also his royal brothers, the Dukes of Clarence, York, Cumberland, and Cambridge visited Ipswich on more than one occasion. The dates are September 10, 1811, —— 1812, October 28, 1813.

MEMORIALS OF ANCIENT LEGAL COURTS, MUNICIPAL CUSTOMS, AND BURGHAL REGULATIONS.

HE local laws and customs governing the town of Ipswich were collected before the year 1291. In this year they were re-collected into a volume called Domesday. The object of re-collection at this particular date arose from the circumstance that John Blake, the then Town Clerk, having committed felony and escaping from the hands of justice, either to inflict additional injury on the community among whom he had resided or to smooth the path for restoration to favour, took with him this important volume in which the laws and customs governing the town were recorded. Immediately upon the loss of this great authority, justice became administered in a lax and desultory manner. "Things" (says the ancient document from which we take our information) "were maintained sometimes by undertakers of business and by procurement of friends, whereby oftentimes, by such manner of maintenances, undertakings, and procurements, many persons contrary to reason and good faith, and contrary to the laws and established usages, had been oppressed, and

this to the great dishonour of the town," &c. &c.* This second collection does not appear to have lasted beyond the year 1521, when the laws were a third time collected. This new collection was effected by Richard Percyvale, a merchant of Ipswich, and now constitutes the Domesday volume in the possession of the corporation.

The ancient courts of Ipswich were termed "Portsmennesmotes," and ordered to be held every fifteen days. The rules and regulations for practice extended to the adjudication of questions relating to property real and personal, with the repression of excesses on the part of the inhabitants. Wills were also proved in courts established in the town, and in fact an extensive machinery for the speedy settlement of most questions relating to the property of the borough was centered here. No person could reasonably complain of delay through the local absence of such powers as could adjudicate upon his claims. In civil cases the monastical communities were amenable to the town courts.

It is found that pleas of the crown were pleaded before the Bailiffs and Coroners, except cut purses and thieves taken with the "petite meyneoure," or with the "grand meyneoure" at the suite of the stranger passing, as in fair-time or on a common market-day.

Little pleas by gage and pledge between persons resident and dwelling in the same town, were pleaded on two days a week.

Pleas between strangers called Pipoudrons, were pleaded daily. Pleas in fair-time were pleaded hourly, "as well after dinner as before." Maritime pleas were pleaded from tide to tide.

Of particular laws, or rather customs governing

* Ipswich Domesday.

property, it is found among others that, persons holding tenements for terms of years or life, or women who held in dower or free bench should not commit destruction or allow excessive decay.

A woman could alienate tenements held in fee of her own right, by appearing before the Bailiffs with her husband, and in his presence and out of his presence for the purpose of shewing absence of coercion, state her desire of alienation.

If the house of a neighbour went to decay, doing damage to the house of another, the person to whom damage was done had his recovery by plaint.

If a person enclosed his tenement whereby the chief lord or other to whom the tenement was charged could not approach to make distress for rent in arrear, the lord or others to whom the tenement was charged had recovery against the tenants before the Bailiffs, as they would have by writ before the Justices of the king.

If a tenant suffered his tenement to lie waste, so that the chief lord of the fee could not approach to make reasonable distress for rent in arrear, and the tenant ceased for four terms to make satisfaction, and the chief lord brought his writ of customs and services against his tenant in the court of the town, proving his rent; then if the tenant did not make satisfaction, the tenement was delivered to the lord to keep a year and a day; within such time, if the tenant made satisfaction for the arrear, he had his tenement again without impediment, otherwise the tenement remained to the chief lord and his heirs for ever.

It was also the usage in the town of Ipswich, that persons who had tenements and rents in fee, could devise them on their death-beds freely, and the devise by will in writing, or of a nuncupative character,

could be proved before the Bailiffs of the town within the first forty days after the death of the testator. If proof was found conformable and good, the will was enrolled in the town roll, and administration granted to the executors of the deceased. If proof was not conformable, so that variance or suspicion of fraud was found in the testament, it was adjudged void, and the tenement remained to him who had the greatest right thereto. If executors refused to come into court, they could be compelled by the laws of the town.

If a tenement was devised to a person out of the country, and the testament of the testator proved, the tenement was delivered to the next friend of the party to whom the devise was made.

The next of kin on the part of the father or on the part of the mother, to whom the inheritance could not descend, had the nurture of every heir, male or female, after the death of his ancestor, until he should be of full age according to the full usage of the town, that is fourteen years. If the nurture committed waste, he was deprived of his charge. No person having the nurture of an infant could have power to *marry* such infant within age, *except* where the infant and his next friends assented.

Blood shed maliciously with sword, knife, bludgeon, or other weapon, was punished by imprisonment for fifteen days, battery with hamsoken fifteen days although blood was not shed, battery with hamsoken and blood shed twenty days. For blood shed maliciously with the sword, or hand, or other battery, punishment according as the battery was perilous and the trespass great.

If any person committed to prison by award of court departed out of prison without leave of his keeper, he had double his punishment. If the keeper

gave a prisoner leave to depart in a case where damages were recoverable, the keeper answered for the damages—he was also punished by award of his superiors for the leave he gave without warrant.

If a man assaulted any of the capital Bailiffs or Coroners with sword, knife, bludgeon, or any other weapon, cut or wounded him, drew blood, or disturbed him in his office in presence of the good men of the town, the trespasser was adjudged to prison, and there to remain without being bailable until he had fully made award to the party outraged, giving main-prize to make satisfaction to the king whenever challenged.

Slanderers of the Bailiffs either in or out of court, were also committed to prison and there kept until good and sufficient surety was found to make amends. The same also applied to assaulters and slanderers of Coroners.

All tenements in the town were partible as well between heirs male as heirs female, if not foreclosed by gift or devise of the ancestor. Property was devisable at the death of the ancestor, and the eldest heir had the benefit of choosing what "purparty" he pleased. After the eldest had chosen, the others divided by lot. If any disagreed and refused to accept the allotted portion and disturbed the rights of others, the usage was that the party disturbed had recovery against the disturber before the Bailiffs, if he commenced his suit within forty days after the disturbance.

Every son of a burgess, heir to his father, was ordered to come into court within forty days after the death of his parent, and render up his father's sword, swearing to maintain the franchise of the town and to keep its secrets. If more than one son, the eldest brought the sword and the others joined in the oath.

Any burgess, peer, or commoner, taking a wife, whether maid or widow, so that he be not widower, and she survivor, the widow was allowed to hold the capital messuage of her husband for her life in the name of "free bench." This usage held although the husband had but a single messuage, provided the children of the late husband lodged therein with her.

Widows not entitled to free bench were allowed to reside forty days in the capital messuage after the death of their husband, within which time reasonable dower should be assigned to them by the heirs of the deceased. This dower was to consist, according to the usage of the town, of a moiety of all the tenements and rents whereof the husband died seized in fee, that is, if the heir would of his own accord assign dower within the first forty days.

Every person who had lands and tenements in the town, whether male or female, knowing how to measure and count, and had attained the full age of fourteen years, could give, quit, release, and for ever quit claim to his right, in these properties, as if he had accomplished the full age of twenty-one years. If he attempted to alienate, when within the age of fourteen, he could demand the restoration of his right at any time after arriving at such age.

A person menacing the injury of life or limb of another, or threatening to burn houses, must find pledges that neither harm or damage should follow such menace. If refusing to find sureties, he stood committed to prison, there to remain until surety be obtained.

The slander of another with larceny, robbery, treason, forgery, or other crime, so that the party slandered be debased in the eyes of others, was punished by trial in "portesmennesmote" and imprisonment on conviction.

Women who were common scolds amongst their neighbours, and who would not curb their mischievous tongues from speaking ill of persons, were ordered to be punished by the judgment of the Cucking-stool, or make heavy ransom if they had it in their power.

In difficult cases a rude mode of empanneling a jury was adopted. "It is the usage in the said town that if plea of debt amounting to more than sixteen pence half-penny shall be moved before the Bailiffs of the town between Burgesses, and the Burgess defendant deny the debt and defend himself by his law, he who should make the law, ought to bring with him into court on the day whereon he should make his law, ten men, who should be divided into two parties, that is to say, five on one side and five on the other side, between whom a pointed knife shall be thrown, and the five towards whom the handle of the knife falls shall set aside without making oath, and the other five towards whom the point falls shall remain with him who ought to make his law; but of these five one shall be set aside and the (remaining) four shall make oath with him who ought to make the said law."*

Several notices of suits both civil and ecclesiastical decided in these courts exist. Under date, 40 Henry III, 1255, "In an action brought against the prior of Trinity, he did appeare, and because he had distrained his tenant by his own Bayley, without the notice of the Bayliffe of the town, the prior submitted and was amerced."

7th Edward I, 1278, "Robert —— plaintiff against John Manewick defendant. For that the said John did draw the said Roberte into the Court Christian†

* Domesday.

† Probably the Court of the Bishop of Ely.

before the Deane of Ipswich for violence by him done to the said John. And the defendant pleaded that he might justly soe doe, for that he is a clerk and the other did violence to him and offended against the canon; and the complainant replied that the plee belonged to the King's Court, and not to the Court Christian."

18th Edward I, 1289. On a return, William Hoylands declared against three others in an assault, one of whom named George Deeping denied the Bishop of Elie's court, and it was resolved that the Bishop "hathe no Courte in suche a case within the liberties of this towne."

2nd Edward II. William Mabyn brings an action against Hugh, Prior of Trinity, in Ipswich, for the taking of goods and carrying them away to the Priory. "The Prior appeared and justified the caption, as the goodes of Alise whoe was wife of Phillip Harneis, who held the tenement where the goods were taken of the Prior, at the yearly rent, &c. and whereof the Prior was seised by the hands of the said Alise as very tenant, and for arreres of the said rent on the yeres ten, eleven, and twelve of the last king; he avows the distress.

"William by replication avers that at the time of arrering aforesaid, Alise was under coverture of Philip Harneis, then her husband.

"The Prior rejoins, that William is altogether estrange thereto, and ought not to be admitted to that plee, and do demand judgement."

12th Edward II, 1318. Before two Bailiffs and one Coroner in full court, the will of Robert de Fornham was brought to be proved, the same being neither signed by the hand of the testator nor proved before the ordinary; and among other legacies therein,

a tenement was given to the Friars' Minors of Ipswich to enlarge their dwelling. "For the probate thereof the executors produced two ffriers minors, namely frier Robert de Wanton and frier John de Winnington, whoe upon perill of their souls affirmed they were present at the making of the will, and that the testator did therein give the legacy therein contained as that therein mencioned, and that he made the executors therein likewise mencioned, and that he was then of good memory and settled in his mind. And thereupon the will was allowed, proved, and enrolled, and with a *salvo jure* as formerly used, and seizen was granted according to the custom."

From what has been advanced, the nature and extent of these early courts can be ascertained. Each town in the medieval age contained for the most part within itself ample powers of self-government, rendering appeals to metropolitan institutions nearly unnecessary. By these means they long preserved their independence, but with independence was associated isolation, for it is evident when the inhabitants of any particular locality considered themselves as placed in preferable positions to their neighbours by the possession of peculiar immunities, but little amalgamation of interests could be felt.

The Burghal regulations adopted from time to time by the corporate body are many of them curious, and mark the faults of our ancestors, as also indicating a spirit of civil improvement. Proceeding from laws promulgated by statute, and by orders of Great Court, they have reference to changes in the condition of the kingdom generally, as well of the town only. The separation of "fforainers" from the native burgesses appears always to have been rigidly enforced, and the most effectual mode of accomplishing

this seems to have occupied the time, and exercised the wisdom of the local authorities at a very early period. The food of the people, occasionally the cleanliness of the streets and lanes, the punishment of offenders, and as we approach the days of Elizabeth and proceed onwards, the attempted forcible repression of beggary, constitute their chief character.

In the 56th Henry III, it was announced that Freemen and Burgesses might be made by paying one duty to the town by way of compound, or a fine might be paid yearly with a duty to the Bailiff.

In the same year it is stated that, "because many fforaine Burgesses refuse to pay aid to the farme of the towne of Ipswich as their ancestors were wont to do for their liberty in the towne, it is ordered by the common consent of the commonalty of this towne, that noe fforaine Burgesses shall be hereafter, but only for his life, and alsoe paying a certain fine yearly to the farme of the town at Michaelmasse; or else (to be) lottant and scottant according to his estate, to the crown tallages of the towne."

In the 6th Edward IV, William Sewell was elected a free Burgess that he may "make upp the ffriers bridge."

17th Edward IV, the "fforaine" fines and other monies were ordered to be appropriated to the repair of the quay.

In the same year strangers and Dutchmen keeping inn or shop were ordered to pay yearly twenty pence each, and their servants that take wages sixpence each. These persons were also ordered to answer for the good conduct of those they employed. Strangers and Dutchmen were not allowed to entertain merchants or guests, under a penalty of six shillings and eight pence, to be levied by distress for every offence.

In the 22nd Edward IV, no "fforainer" of another nation was allowed to be a free Burgess on any terms. This order was repeated 2nd Richard II, when it is stated that no strangers born out of England shall hereafter, at any time, be elected free Burgesses of the town.

In the 5th Henry VII, a free Burgess was made upon condition that he fabricate a pair of stocks for the quay; and in the same year liberty was given to Thomas Baldry to make one Burgess at his own choice, in consideration of services done for the town.

In the next year, Thomas Foreman was made a free Burgess at the instance of Thomas Fastolfe, provided no other foreigner should be admitted, according to the ordinance of the 22nd Edward IV.

In the 33rd Henry VIII, it was ordered that no retainer to any great person, man of worship, or gentleman, shall be admitted to be a free Burgess. Also if a foreigner purchased or sold any merchandise except of or to a freeman or foreigner contributory, the goods were ordered to be forfeited as foreign bought and foreign sold, and the taker to have one one half and the town the other half.

In the 7th Elizabeth, Robert Thorpe, gentleman, for a fine of £20 was admitted a free Burgess upon condition that he became resident in the town before the next Michaelmas, and thenceforth to remain and continue with his family as a profitable member.

These laws and ordinances relating to Foreign Burgesses were kept with much severity even down to a comparatively late period. In the 20th Charles II, it appears that three persons named Barker, Gaudy, and Veron opposed a demand of the Bailiffs upon them, but the Corporation persisted in adherence to all the customs laid down in the claims demanded of

the defendants. It was also ordered that legal proceedings should issue against Joane Barker for holding public shew and shop of sale for goods by retail, and against George Crosby, or Goudy, for keeping a stall within the market "being noe victuall." As concerned Veron, it was to be considered whether proceedings should be against him for keeping open shop "when as he hangs out neither basons or pole." Veron was a barber. In the 18th James, foreigners opening shop without license were unceremoniously committed to prison.

Nor was the distinction of a free Burgess by any means sufficient to ensure freedom of occupation and trade, for as late as the 19th James I, it appears that a free Burgess having opened a shop in the trade of a barber, not being bred apprentice to the mystery, it was ordered that he should shut up his shop by a day appointed, or forfeit three shillings and four pence for the default of each day.

A further selection from these municipal ordinances will however better illustrate the nature of town government than general descriptions.

10th Edward I. No man shall forestall or stop any goods going by land or sea to the port of the town appointed for sale.

26th Henry VI. The fullers of the town were ordered to sell their cloths every market-day at the Moot Hall,* under pain of forfeiture of all their goods brought for sale. Clothiers were under the same compulsion, as those also who dealt in wool.

In periods of alarm the inhabitants of Ipswich are found arming themselves for mutual protection and

* The Townhall, until late years, went by the cognomen of the Moot Hall, and even at the present period many of the ancient inhabitants use the same name when speaking of the building.

defence. Arming took place not only when foreign aggression was feared, but in times of internal commotion. During the unsettled state of the kingdom in the reign of Henry VI, when Jack Cade played his serious pranks, distant localities betrayed large sympathies towards this rebel, and the people in many parts felt inclined upon trifling encouragement to aid the movement made by Cade and his friends. An ordinance was promulgated in Ipswich during this period, for the purpose of checking any disposition towards insubordination. This order of Great Court states that every man within the liberty of the town, namely all having shops shall keep one good staff, and every servant of lawful age shall have one staff in their house or shop, under penalty of 4*d.*; and they shall wait upon the Bailiffs when "necessity shall be" for the good and honour of the town. Other inhabitants of greater ability in the same town shall have each .... bows, arrows, swords, targets, pole axes, and other weapons of war ready at all hours to defend themselves and the enemies of the king and kingdom as they ought.

An order of Great Court of the 26th Henry VI, states that if any inhabitants of the town or the liberty thereof shall not arm in defence of another inhabitant thereof being assaulted by force, such person declining to aid in such case shall be disfranchised, and not be restored without fine of the Great Court, and further to take the oath following:—This heare yee all men, that I shall true man be to the king of England, and this town and franchise of the same against all manner of men shall sustaine and maintaine to the utmost of my power; and the king's peece shall sustaine and keepe, and all routs, riotts, and rebellions, and conjurations against the same peece, to my power reforme and destroy; and the command of the Bay-

liffs for the conservation of the same peece at all times to obey, and each trew Burgess of this towne in every fray made against the peece assist, helpe, and support with all my power—soe helpe me God and Halidome." This order was continued in the time of Elizabeth, in the 25th of whose reign it was promulgated that every inhabitant of the town should have a club ready in his house to suppress frays, within fourteen days after giving the notice. These clubs were to continue in the possession of householders for the purpose named, and all defaulters were fined two shillings.

The possession and control of a bell, to notify Burghal regulations, appears to have been as distinctive a mark of an ancient incorporation as the possession and control of a seal. It was of course necessary that where power existed to convene a burghmote, that means to notify its existence and call its members to assemble, should exist also. Summons to attend Great Courts by blowing a horn, has been already mentioned. Some ancient incorporations in order to ensure the performance of municipal orders either possessed themselves of a church in which a bell was kept, paid for a bell, or employed a special officer of their own appointment to ring a bell upon occasions when necessary. Summons by bell was lawful, and persons not attending to its voice were fined for their neglect.

The corporation of Ipswich at a very early period exercised control over a bell in the church of St. Mary Tower, indeed from the period when the newly-formed body met in its churchyard, A. D. 1199, and elected their first officers. The bell was sounded at Curfew time. Several entries of regulations made for the government of this bell, are found in the town records. In the reign of Elizabeth several minute

entries are extant, evidently continuations of far earlier orders. In the 6th of Elizabeth it was ordered that the "Tower greate bell shall be rung throughout the year at nine of the clock in the morning, and in the winter at eight of the clock in the evening, and in summer at nine of the clock, whenne the Watchebell beginne to ring; and the bell ringer's wages shall be assessed by the Common Council."

In the 16th of the same reign an entry is found informing us that the wages of the bell ringer should be assessed upon the inhabitants, and refusors shall be denied their candle, which shall be delivered to the hospital. The "candle" here mentioned was candle manufactured by the Corporation and delivered to the inhabitants at stated prices for carrying out the regulations of "candle and lanthorn," a mode employed for lighting the streets of the town by night.

The regulations of "lanthorn and candle light" were most rigorously enjoined. The number of sturdy mendicants accustomed to infest the streets of a town by night, and the open places of the country by day, rendered it necessary precautions should be taken to prevent robberies and excesses which might otherwise occur through the daring propensities of such worthies. Traders were protected not only by setting nightly watches, but by the light from lanterns hung on poles from the doors and windows. The winter season being of course the most convenient period for depredations, more care to prevent darkness was taken by the authorities. Thus, authority was given to the Bailiffs for the time being "to take order for hanging out of candle light by the inhabitants of the town in the winter season."

Again, "lanthorne and candle light shall be hanged

out by all the inhabitants of the towne," and the beadle "shall make cry of lanthorn and candle light, and certify defaulters, and shall have for his pains six shillings and eight pence." Entries such as these are found down to the time of James, in the 9th year of whose reign is an order, that lanthorn and candle light shall be used in the dark nights.*

* In the publications of the facetious Dekker, are many allusions to lanthorn and candle light. From his tract called "English Villanies, eight several times pressed to death by the printers; but (still reviving again) are now for the ninth time (as at first) discovered by lanthorne and candle light, and the help of a new crier, called O—Per—Se—O, &c. &c." several notices can be gleaned of this custom. It appears that independently of the lights hung out, a crier, or watchman, paraded the streets, carrying a bell or lanthorn, and a halbert, for his own protection. His duty was to see that no accident happened from burning candle while the inmates were asleep, and also to give an alarm of thieves when necessary. Dekker gives several cuts of this worthy, one in the tract now mentioned at the head of several verses, in which the crier indicates that his profession keeps him in the street all night.

> "Four o'clock, the cock is crowing,
> I want to my home be going,
> When all other men do rise,
> Then must I shut up mine eyes."

The bellman is also thus described in prose. "A man that had no man to wait upon him, only a dog—one that is a disordered person, and at midnight would beat at men's doors, bidding them in mere mockery to look to their candles, when they themselves were in their dead sleeps."

In the Bellman's Second Walk is found the following passage alluding to the lighting of a town:—"For candle light had scarce opened his eye to looke at the cittie." This refers to a youth who desires to see the humours of London by candle light.

Three different cuts accompany these tracts, by which are given an accurate notion of the outward form and feature of the lanthornman—one just mentioned, and another, in which he is seen with a dog, a lanthorn, a bell, and a halbert (broken.) The date of Dekker's Bellman of London "Fifth impression with new additions,"

As in most other towns the offences of forestalling and regrating flourished in all the rude vigour of the trading of the middle ages, and as a matter of course the efforts of the Corporation were supported to the fullest extent in putting down this almost universal system. Millers, bakers, butchers, dealers in fish, cloth, and indeed traders in all commodities, were enjoined not to forestall in the markets upon pain of the pillory, deprivation of trade and loss of character, fine, and imprisonment. As early as 1281,* it was ordered by the Great Court, that no man shall forestall or stop any goods going by land or sea to the said port of the town appointed for sale. This had reference to the custom which prevailed of persons lying in wait outside the town, and also in the river, to possess themselves of early supplies of food coming to the markets, and thus gathering to themselves the power of influencing the price of provisions. In 1339, "forestallers were not allowed." In 1400, the most rigorous orders were issued to the same effect, and it will be found that the oath of the ancient Bailiff is particularly emphatic upon the necessity of proper

is 1640. Those who wish to be made acquainted with the state of the metropolis in Dekker's days, will find an inexhaustible fund of amusement in his publications.

Notices of lanthorn and candle light are also found in Heywood's Rape of Lucrece, or rather in a song called the "Cryes of Rome," introduced into the performance:—

> "Thus go the cries of Rome faire towne,
> First they go up street, and then they go downe,
> Lanthorne and candle light here;
> Maid a light here.
> Thus go the cries, &c."

* Perhaps in consequence of the enactment against these offenders of 4th Edward III.

attendance upon all matters connected with the food of the people.*

But although the Bailiffs considered themselves bound to eradicate the forestalling of others, yet with respect to their own property, they had less scruples. No persons for instance were allowed to have wheat ground except at the town mills, and though protection to a certain extent was given against peculation, and the mixing of good flour with inferior kinds, yet the town millers evidently did as they pleased with

* Stow writes that in the 4th year of Edward II, a baker named John of Stratford, for making bread less than the assize, was, with a fool's hood on his head and loaves of bread about his necke, drawn on a hurdle through the streets of the city of London.

Pierce Plowman thus addresses the authorities of a town upon the subject:—

"Mayres and masterys, that meanes be betwene
The kynge and the common, to kepe the lawes,
To punishe on pylaries, and pynnynge stoles,
Brusters and bakesters, bouchers and cokes,
For these are men on this mould that most harm worketh
To the pore people, that parcell weale hyghe, &c."

" Hail be ye bakers, with yur lovis small,
Of white bred and of blake, ful mani and fale,
Ye pinchet on the rigt wigt, agens goddes lawes,
To the fair pillori ich rede you take hede—
This verse is wrowgte so welle—that no tung i wis may telle.
Hail be ye brewesters, wich your galuns,
Pottles and quartes, over al the tonnes,
Yur thowines brith moch awai, schame har the gyle,
Beth i war of the cocking stole, the lak is deep hori—
Sikerlich was a clerk—that so sleilich wroghte this werke.
Hail be ye hokesters, dun bi the lake,
With candles and golokes, and the pottes blak,
Tripis and kine feet, and schepen hevedes,
With the hori tromcheri hori is yure inne,
He is sorry of his lif—that is fast to such a wif."

the grist of their customers, and enriched themselves at the expense of the general community.

The establishment of town mills and the compulsory orders respecting grinding, were not however singular with respect to Ipswich. In early periods, when the feudal lord was the ruler of society, the tenants of a manor were not only enforced to bring their corn to the mills of the lord, but also to bake their bread at his oven, and for which they paid in some cases an excessive charge. This toll was called Furnage. Corporate towns followed the plan. In 1290, the Corporation of Newcastle complained to Parliament that the prior of Tinmouth had baked bread at North Shields, which ought to have been baked at the Corporate oven in Newcastle. Numerous other examples might be cited of the prevalence of this custom, and some towns might even be named in which the custom is peremptory at the present day.

Other regulations for the due supply and control of the food of the inhabitants are to be found very minutely registered. The brewers for instance were not allowed to sell beer at an under price, and as already stated were specially licensed. Down to the 8th of James I, no person was allowed to brew any beer for sale, in other than the ancient brew-houses by continuance of ten years at least, under the penalty of £10 each month. London beer was also forbidden to be introduced into the town, or at least sold by retailers; and the manufacture of malt was discountenanced except in malt-houses used for the purpose at least ten years. Butchers also seem to have had the special attention of the Bailiffs. The time of market was fixed. No meat was allowed to be sold at the houses of the butcher. Bulls' flesh was ordered to be baited, and no supply could reach the

kitchens of the community without having first undergone the inspection of the flesh conner appointed by the Bailiffs. Butchers were also ordered under fine to dispose of all their tallow to the chandlers at a certain price, and were considered guilty of a very grave offence if they did not obey the order.

It also appears that town chandlers were appointed, and among others in the 3rd year of Elizabeth, John Cage and Thomas Eldred were elected from Easter to Easter to serve the town with good candles at 2*d.* per pound, and to be bound by obligation of £40 to perform their office in such wise. While the Corporation held control over the manufacture of candle, it was made at the Hospital, that is Christ's Hospital erected upon the site of Black Friars.

"Taverners," who always have been and most probably always will be, especially under the surveillance of the law and local regulations, fall in for a large share of the arrangement of the Bailiffs. In Ipswich Domesday is found regulation (though not dated) concerning them which states—"that no Taverner nor seller of wyne (shall) kepe open his taverne after the curfewe belle be seased. And that noe manner of p̃son of what astate or condition so ever that he be, goo a brode w^t^ in this forsaid town subburbes or liberties of the same, after that the said belle is seased w^t^out havying a light in his hand, except a reasonable cause, upon peyn of imp̃sonmente."

In the 32nd Henry VIII, scavengers were elected in every parish, and their gatherings ordered to be carried and laid at four places named, and not elsewhere: viz. Warwick pitts, the College yard,* behind the Ditches "next John Hereve," and the Dikes in

* This order shews the melancholy degradation into which the College of Cardinal Wolsey fell immediately after the disgrace of its builder.

the Marsh. And if the scavengers shall not execute their office every week, they were fined 12*d.* for each default. Every person not making clean against his ground and door every Saturday in the afternoon, shall forfeit 3*d.* for every week's default, of which the scavengers shall have 1*d.* and the town 2*d.*

The paving of the town commenced about the year 1531.

In the first of Edward VI, the twelve "headburrowes" were ordered to go about the town under the following arrangement — 8 days after Candlemass, 8 days after "Crouch Mass," 8 days after Lammass, and 8 days after "All-hallowmass," for the purpose of viewing the annoyances of the town. They were to be warned thereto by a serjeant. All defaulters warned, were to forfeit 5*s.* at such day as the headboroughs "should bring in their books." The Chamberlains were ordered to deliver the headboroughs 56*s.* towards their charges.

By an order passed in the last year of Edward VI, no craftsman was allowed to hold stalls on the market day but tanners, cordmakers, smiths, and glovers, unless they paid each day 4*d.* each.

In the 2nd year of Mary, the Bailiffs would not allow any house within the town to be demised to any poor stranger without the allowance of three portmen, three headboroughs, and three of the twenty-four appointed to be searchers, or the greater part of them, under peril of forfeiture of 40*s.* to be paid to the treasurer upon demand, or the party to be imprisoned until payment made.

No owner was allowed to take more than one dweller in one house within the town, without special license of the searchers.

No person was allowed to set up any shop or

follow any occupation within the town, without license from the searchers.

In the 12th of Elizabeth, sumptuary laws were enacted, and we find accordingly that an order of the Bailiffs goes forth to this effect.—Whereas the common and meaner sort of people in the town are grown to excess in apparel, especially in their hose,* to the ruin, decay, and impoverishment of the town, against the commandment of the Sovereign, contrary to the laws, and to the increase of wickedness and sin, whereby they (the people) fall into the displeasure of Almighty God. It is therefore ordered, determined, and agreed by the whole consent of the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and commonalty assembled, that no inhabitant using any mystery or occupation, their apprentices, servants, or journeymen, shall use about their hose any stuffing with hair, wool, or other stuffing therein laid, bolstered, or interlined, other than one single lining, upon pain of imprisonment by the Bailiffs after warning given by public proclamation, and there to remain until the offender shall have reformed his excesses. And all constables shall stay such offender and bring them before the Bailiffs for the time being.

This order, no doubt issued in consequence of the statute upon the subject of dress, reminds the reader of the words of Phillip Stubbes in his "Anatomie of Abuses," in which the evils of the dress of the period are pointed out with a coarse yet vigorous pen, which claims the especial attention of the reader of that singular production. After premising that the greatest abuse in the land is that most execrable sin of pride and excess in apparel, "which is then so stinckyng ripe, as the filthie fruits and lothsome dregges thereof,

* By hose is not meant merely stockings, but the whole of the nether garment.

have long since presented themselves," he describes at some length the fashion and cost of that very hose against which this order is directed, and which fully bears out the absurdity to which the love of dress had gone in these times. Upon the impolicy of attempting to check a fashion by statute, which would soon have exhausted itself if left to take its natural course by its very excess, no doubt can exist.*

In the 14th Elizabeth it is ordered that the church be better frequented, and for the attainment of this purpose, that no inhabitant within the town shall open any shop door or window on the sabbath-day with

* Stubbes' words on hose are these. "Then have thei hosen, which as they bee of divers fashions, so are thei of sundrie names. Some be called Frenche hose, some Gallie, and some Venetians. The Frenche hose are of two divers makynges, for the common French hose (as thei list to call them) containeth neither length, breadth, nor sidenesse sufficient and is made verie rounde. The other containeth neither length, breadth, nor beinge not past a quarter of a yarde side, whereof some be paned, cut and drawen out with costly ornaments, with Tanions annexed, reachyng down beneath their knees. The gallyhosen are made very large and wide, reachyng downe to the knees onely, with three or four guardes a peece laid downe along either hose. And the Venetian hosen, thei reach beneath the knee to the gartering place of the legge beneath the knee, where thei are tyed finely with silke pointes, or some suche like, and laied on also with rewes of lace or gardes, as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except thei be made of Silk, Velvet, Saten, Damaske, and other like precious thynges beside; yea every one, Seruyngman and others inferior to them in every condition, will not stick to flaunt it out on these kinde of hosen, with all other their apparell sutuble thereto." Stubbes then proceeds to say that of old "kings would not object to wear hosen of a noble, tenne shillinges, or a marke price, but that nowe it is a small matter to bestowe twentie nobles, tenne pounde, yea a hundred pounds for one paire of breeches (God be mercifull unto us,) and yet this is thought no abuse neither." *Stubbes, 2nd edition,* 1583. (Two editions of this book were published in this year. The first is dated 1 May 1583, and the second only 1583.)

intent to sell any wares under forfeiture of 5*s.* for every offence. Provided however that the order shall not extend to butchers except at the time of prayer and preaching. The penalties were ordered to go to the support of Christ's Hospital, and those who refuse to pay, to be imprisoned until payment be made.

20th Elizabeth. If any freeman shall make any wager with another for electing any officer in the town, neither of the persons so engaging shall have any voice or be present at any such election, nor shall procure any other to give his voice at such election for the winning of such wager, upon pain of forfeiting £5.

The well-known statute of the 43rd of Elizabeth, by which the poor of the country were set to work and the vagrancy, which appears to have been almost universal, attempted to be checked, was long heralded by other statutes and ordinances of a similar description, indicating the approach of a strong and decided measure on the subject. The idle and dissolute filling the land before the dissolution of monasteries, which evil was greatly increased by that excessive "feeding of beggary," which these institutions practised even by their charity, had upon the destruction of religious houses, thrown upon the country hosts of wandering creatures who paraded the kingdom, living upon the kindness, the cupidity, or the fears of the people. In 1540, parliament declares the great increase of vagabonds, and the continued thefts and murders committed by them, as to tend towards the "inquietation and damage" of the people, and ordains that the poor and impotent shall receive licenses from the justices, to beg within certain limits, while the "mighty in body" able to labour and yet found vagrant, shall

be apprehended, and after having been beaten with whips till their "bodies be bloody," sent back to labour in the place of birth. This being found inefficient for the repression of the evil, a second offence brought such person into the hands of an executioner, who cut off the upper part of the gristle of the ear, and eventually followed branding upon the cheek, with treatment as a slave. Like most measures of severity, this proceeding had little effect. Recourse was then had to another principle. In the 5th of Elizabeth, (1562) magistrates were empowered to assess persons for the relief of the poor in towns and parishes, and to commit to prison on refusal. This, which applied to persons refusing relief to impoverished individuals, at length extended to all, so that the entire inhabitants were assessed to the relief of the poor. Support, however, was still withheld from pedlars and chapmen who wandered abroad, as also bearwards and wandering songsters, men and women using subtle craft and unlawful games, fencers, minstrells unattached to great houses, coneyskin men,* "shippemen" pretending shipwrecke, Irishmen, common players of interludes, &c. Records of these assessments are found in the town books, and ordinances are plentiful, compelling the appointment of collectors for scot and lot. Such as refused to pay, were not only imprisoned, but disfranchised of any office they might hold in the town.

The corporation of Ipswich was with others ordered to use its utmost endeavours to destroy vagrancy, and in many places, establishments of an

* The modern peregrinating purchaser of rabbit skins may yet be regarded as one of the elder vagrants infesting society as early as Henry II, and should perhaps be entitled to notice from the ancient nature of his calling.

eleemosynary nature were founded, for the express purpose of benefitting the poor and punishing the professional and knavish beggar. Before 1572, the corporation of Ipswich appointed the houses purchased by them from Mr. Southwell, to whom was granted the site of Black Friars, for the correction of the vicious and the curing of the sick, giving the name of Christ's Hospital to the establishment. In the 14th of Elizabeth, Her Majesty gave a charter to Christ's Hospital, and confirming the name in this grant, its uses were of course set forth and defined, namely:—that the poor and orphans may be taught, such as were sick to be preserved alive for honest uses, and the slothful vagabonds and sturdy beggars, women of bad name and reputation, be committed to custody and made to labour for their reformation.*

The establishment was supported by the contributions of the charitable and humane, by fines imposed upon the Burgesses for offences of all kinds, and payment made upon refusing office in the corporation.† All these efforts did not accomplish the desired result, and little reason exists to doubt that many years afterwards, when the well-known act of the 43rd of Elizabeth was made law, vagrancy existed, not only to an extent such as mentioned above, but to an alarming and even frightful degree.‡

The endeavours of the Bailiffs to support the poor in the town did not of course progress without considerable opposition. The change was great and was felt. In the 16th Elizabeth, we find that Richard

* See "An Account of the Gifts and Legacies bequeathed to charitable uses in the Town of Ipswich," 1747.

† Christ's Hospital School, amended and extended, still exists, and is carried on in an ancient house, formerly a Spital, on the Stoke side of the river.

‡ The labour in the Hospital was weaving.

Golty, one of the Burgesses, allotted in the sum of 40*s.* to the poor, did on the 10th October, in the presence of two persons of credit, say that "scot and lot voted on him was done against reason, consent, charity, and honesty, and being convicted thereof, he was fined £5, and ordered to pay the said 40*s.*" In the 22nd of Elizabeth, all persons in the town rated to the poor, were ordered to pay "so much money as by computation shall amount to their rate for one month, and, nevertheless, continue the payment of their rates, as they are rated." Energetic search was made to root out "in-lying" vagrants. Constables were deputed once a month to make search in their wards for vagabonds, to obtain the places of their abode, and send them away with passports; neither were any scruples extended to those who fell within the statute by which ear clipping and branding on the breast were legalized. Added to these important duties, years of scarcity occurring in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, rendered the necessity urgent of purchasing corn for sustenance of the poor. Sickness filled up the measure of dearth and discontent. Taken collectively, the reign of the maiden Queen was no bed of rest for those who held authority under her. Days of change, however inevitable, are usually accompanied by tumult and distress, nor did any difference in this respect mark the era of the most prosperous sovereign England ever beheld. In the words of a modern writer, merry England in the days of Elizabeth was in some respects rather a terrible country to live in. The courtly and literary splendour which makes the sunny foreground of the picture, is grimly set off in the black barbaric gloom of the other parts.*

In the 5th year of the reign of James I, at a Great Court held on the 23rd of March, no freeman, their

* G. L. Craik.

servants, or apprentices, were allowed to resort to any plays to be holden within the town, under peril of twelve pence forfeiture for every offence, which if not paid willingly, a distress issued and compelled the recreant play-goer to purchase the liberty of sight-seeing by payment of admission to other persons than the manager of such places.

This, however, does not appear sufficient for the repression of the evil, for an order issued to the effect—that the Bailiffs of the town should allow no plays or interludes under forfeiture of twenty shillings "each of them."

These entries mark one period of the existence of the drama in Ipswich. Evidence exists, however, that "stage playes" had long found admirers and followers in the town. In the "Chamberlain's accounts" for the year 1555,* is an entry for money paid to a company of players.

"Item, to Sir Rauffe Chamberlans players the vij day of Ffebruarye iij*s.* iiij*d.*"

From what has already been stated, a general idea may be obtained of the nature of those laws and customs which prevailed among the olden authorities of Ipswich, and continued down to the era of James and Charles, with comparatively little change. Like all other ancient customs, they had their rise, meridian, declension, and fall, serving the good end in the various mutations to which they were subject of originating and perfecting that better system of local government, which founded on general principles, assimilates more completely the liberties of one neighbourhood with that of another.

* Communicated by Mr. W. S. Fitch, at the meeting of the Archæological Association at Winchester, in 1845, and afterwards printed by that body in their Transactions of the Winchester Congress.

As respects the means of punishment employed by the authorities of Ipswich, only three appear to have been used—the Tew, or Ducking Stool, for the irrepressible tongues of the fair sex; with imprisonment, the tumbril, and the pillory for male delinquents.

The original notice relating to the use of the Ducking Stool is first found in the Domesday of the town,* when the following entry appears:—

"Item. Women that bene common chiders amonge their neighbours and will not chastise their ill tongue to myssaye folke leatt them be chastised bi the Justice called ye Tew,† or else leatt them make grievous rannsome if they have whareof."

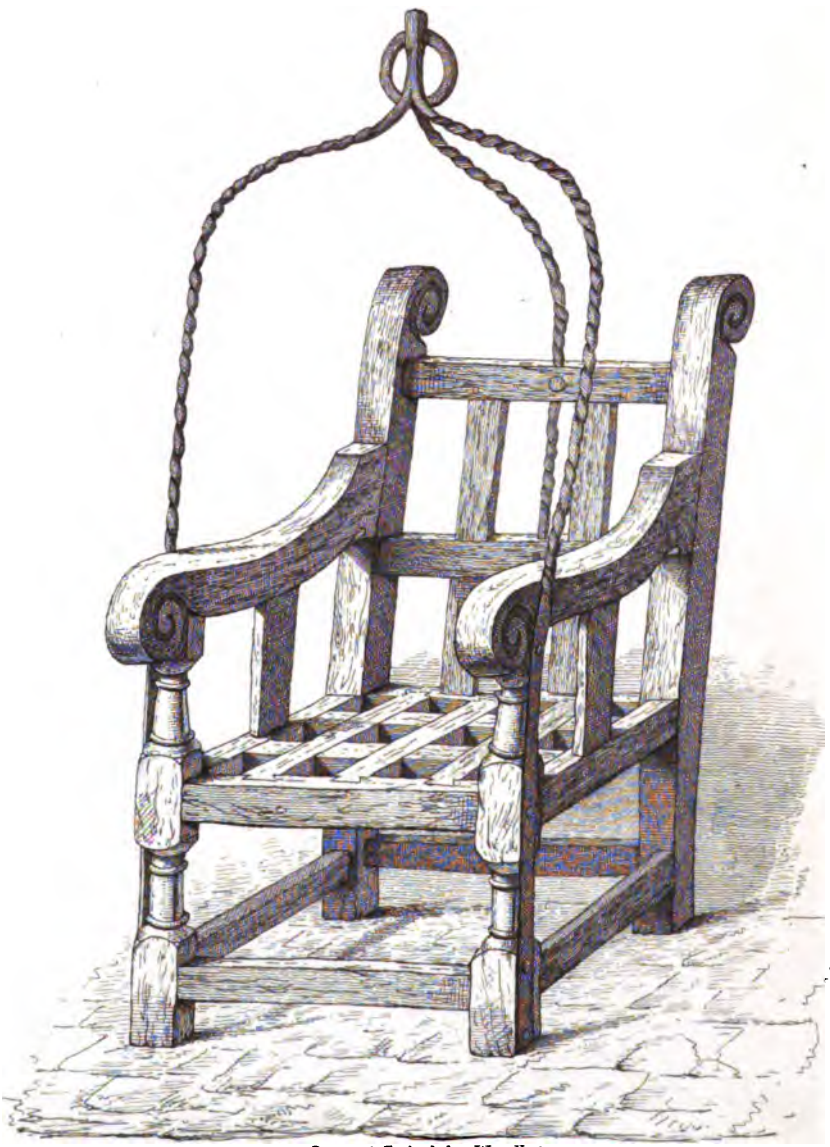
It is said that entries exist in the town books‡ of sums of money paid by the Corporation to persons administering the punishment, but it is understood they are not numerous. Indeed like the stocks, which operated as a terror to the loose and disorderly, most probably the Ducking Stool answered the same purpose to a considerable extent, without frequent application. Judging indeed from entries made as respects other punishments, the use of the tumbril for the correction of offenders, was far more generally in vogue than the Ducking Stool, when persons both male and female were drawn through the streets, seated in a cart with a mortar hung about their necks for the offence of "Flyten or chiden," as well as in expiation of more heinous peccadilloes.

It was not always either that the unfortunate persons who had "chiden among their neighbours" really

* Liber Secundus lxxiii.

† The Ducking Stool was called Thewe. See *Blount, and Promptorium Parvulorum, &c.*

‡ Probably Chamberlains' accounts.



Drawn & Etched by Wat. Hagreen.

ANCIENT DUCKING STOOL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CORPORATION OF SHREWSBURY.

underwent the pain and degradation of being immersed in water. No doubt the indomitable scold, whom no kindness could silence or argument convince, was after being well secured within the arms of the fearful chair, suspended from a crane and lowered into the waters of the Orwell, for the purpose of cooling her hot propensities to malign and traduce her fellow "queans." Frequently, however, after being tied down in her wooden throne, she was kept in pity, or in the hope that mercy would act as forcibly as severity on terra firma, being only exalted above the crowd surrounding her by the same apparatus that had deposited her fellow scolds within the muddy stream that flowed so near. On these occasions she was most probably prevented indulging in her improper propensity—while the object of punishment, by a harmless gag being placed in her mouth, so that rage and excitement could find no vent by the tongue, was achieved. When really "ducked," it is clear that danger might arise to life, if resort were had to a gag. This view is borne out by the Ducking Stool in some places being called the "Goging Stool," or the "Gagging Stool," and by its being fixed immoveably at the entrance of a town to which spot offenders were conveyed, and there placed in ignominious duresse.*

* A Ducking Stool, perfect in all its parts, is yet in possession of the Corporation of Ipswich, and of which a representation is given in these pages.

YORKIST MEMORIALS.

THERE can be no doubt that the town of Ipswich warmly espoused the cause of the Yorkist party, during the powerful struggles which took place in the kingdom during the memorable wars of the Roses.

This is evident from three authorities:—the Accounts of Sir John Howard, Knt. afterwards Duke of Norfolk;* Memorials of the Howard Family, privately printed by Mr. Howard, of Corby Castle; and the proceedings of the Corporate Body, as found in Bacon's MSS. The first accounts extend from 1463 (the third of Edward IV) to 1470, a short time before his flight to the Continent, and present an ample, though perhaps a broken narrative of payments made towards the defence of the Yorkists, not only in the county of Suffolk, but in the Northern part of the kingdom. Further evidence of the Yorkist tendency is also found, as previously noted, in the manuscript book of Nicholas Bacon, of Ipswich. From the proceedings of the Great Court, as entered in Bacon's volume, it is shewn that the House of Lancaster did not hold a very high position in the estimation of

* Among the Roxburgh Club Books.

the inhabitants, and that the presence of Sir John Howard* in the town, as the personal friend and officer of the Yorkist Edward, was to them peculiarly acceptable.

Indeed, previously to the deposition of Henry VI, in 1461, the Corporation appear to have taken decided steps in the part they intended to observe and keep in this matter. In that year, amidst the commotion attending the dethronement of Henry, they agree :—that the then Chamberlains should pay the Bayliffs a sum of £28, of which the Court would save harmless, John Wallworth and Edward Winter, late Bailiffs, and also the Chamberlains, against *Margaret, Queen of England*, and all others.

In the first year of Edward IV, they send to represent the town in Parliament, two men of undoubted Yorkist reputation, namely :—Richard Felaw, the commercial agent of Sir John Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and William Baldry, a person also well affected towards the same cause.

In the second of Edward IV, the town agreed to find twenty armed men for the King's service, which men were to be at the cost of the inhabitants. Indeed, at all times during this period, the commissioners of array for the Yorkists had the gallant attention of the town, and all aids of men required were afforded without opposition.

This attention to the Yorkist dynasty produces a charter to the town, in which the Bailiffs take care to secure the power of dealing with political offenders as mildly as they please in case of a reverse of fortune, by covenanting that they, with four Portmen, should have power to determine all felonies, oppres-

* Afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and spoken of as Jockey of Norfolk, in Shakspere's Play of Richard III.

sions, extortions, trespasses, contempt, rout, riots, conspiracies, and other crimes within the borough. This charter was confirmed by Richard III, the principal others being recited, with the exception of a charter granted by Henry VI, a Lancastrian.

No doubt much of this feeling in favour of the House of York was promoted in Ipswich by the continued presence of Sir John Howard. Entrusted with the secret intentions of the Yorkists, various preparations for the defence of the kingdom were conducted in silence and ambiguity at this port, furnishing large employment to the artizans, and giving importance to the locality. The Bailiffs of Ipswich were his obsequious servants, as well as other great men of the place. Indeed, not only the Bailiffs of this town, but also the Bailiff of Harwich, aids him in all his plans, and the latter is found to furnish him with capons and coneys for his table, attending upon him when at Framlingham Castle, and following his commands. The value of the adhesion of such men to his cause, Sir John was of course ready to perceive. Hence, he seldom neglected an opportunity of ingratiation. The Bailiffs of Ipswich are regaled at his expense, and the Mayor of Norwich he enlists under his banner by the purchase of his fine cloths and his kersey.*

The year 1463 was a busy year, both with the Yorkists and Lancastrians, and the armourers of Ipswich are accordingly found hard at work in their vocation. Sir John Howard of course requires their aid, and on the 26th of August, he pays armourers for working at Stoke by Nayland, (his residence) in furbishing up the armour. The armour of the Norfolk retainers, at the residence of the chief, occu-

* Book of Expenses.

pies seven days. The time is anxious. The battle of Hexham takes place. Henry VI is taken and conveyed to the Tower, and the Lancastrian cause appears totally lost. On the 26th of August, nine sheaves of arrows are bought at Ipswich. Propitiation is made at the various monasteries in the town. Sir John also rides to and fro between Stoke and Ipswich, and one visit costs him xj*s.* v*d.* ob. at the Pye, "in horsmete and mannys mete."

Fortunately for the inhabitants of the town of Ipswich, the stir of battle during this dark and stormy period was far away to the northward, and the wide heaths of the county were unstained with blood. Had the strain and trial of divided inclinations been tested by the sword, the town might have halted in opinion, as did other places, when the cause of one party or the other happened to rise or fall in the scale of pre-eminence. Her virtue to the cause of the Yorkists, must therefore be considered as rather negative than active, and as being sustained through the personal influence of Sir John Howard.

MONASTERIES.

THE PRIORY of the HOLY TRINITY, as already stated, occupied nearly the present site of Christ Church mansion, but no traces of the monastery remain. In the park however near the east boundary, is to be seen a covered well, which no doubt existed in the time of the religious establishment and was used by the monks. A few fragments of ornamental masonry lie scattered about the grounds, which once formed a portion of the buildings, and attest the existence, although they afford no knowledge either of the extent or style of the Priory. The site is pleasant, more so indeed than that of any other of the monastical establishments of the town. The grounds, from the number of ancient trees existing, were probably as thickly timbered as now, and the almost indispensable adjunct of ponds and stews for fish, are shewn not to have been wanting.

The foundation of the establishment dates in the time of Henry II, when Norman de Gastrode founded this his Priory of Austin Canons. The date of the first building is 1177, which if not erected by the munificence of Gastrode, was principally endowed by

775 TWO Rentals of the Priory of the Holy Trinity in Ipſwich, *temp.* Hen. III. and Edw. I., tranſcribed from the originals. 4to. *facſimile and ſeals*, PRIVATELY PRINTED, *ſewed*, 2s. 6d. 1847

him. Like many other first establishments of this nature, it was very early destroyed by fire, but no private benefactor to the Church came forward to re-establish what had once flourished, and it was left to the munificence of John de Oxford, Bishop of Norwich, to re-build the monastery in 1194. This he did, placing therein seven Canons and a Priest, which number was afterwards increased to twenty.

The monks of the Holy Trinity held a high character in the town of Ipswich, and on many occasions their presence was deemed indispensable to the good regulation of the borough. At the period when the Corpus Christi Guilds were held, they formed a portion of the procession, were engaged in the important ceremonies, and indeed more than divided the honour of the occasion, with the brethren of the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul. To the Holy Trinity were attached the advowson, medietus, or portion of the churches of St. Lawrence, St. Mary at Tower, St. Mary at Elm, St. Saviour, St. John Baptist, St. Margaret, Trinity, and St. Michael, in the town; also Tuddenham, Mourningthorpe, Bently, Higham, Foxhall, Willisham, Preston, Mendham, Rushmere, and Lecham. A mill in Hagenford, a fold course and pasturage for 400 sheep, free warren in 11 or more parishes, 140 acres of marsh in Moulton, Reedham, and properties in many other places.

In the three well known valuations—Taxatio Ecclesiastica (1291)—Valor Ecclesiasticus 1534, and the Liber Val. the valuation of the Holy Trinity stood severally £47 : 17 : 4½—£88 : 6 : 9—& £119 : 16 : 2.

But although Leland calls Norman de Gastrode "primus fundator," doubts exist whether he is entitled to this character. A charter to this monastery by King John speaks of Gastrode, but not in this capacity,

and the church was not given to the monks by him but by Simon fil Osberni. Tanner seems to deny also that John de Oxford, Bishop of Norwich, rebuilt the premises after they were destroyed by fire. Indeed much of the generally received history of the Priory of the Holy Trinity is open to doubt and dispute, though perhaps not more so than that of other establishments, the era of the foundation of which dates at a remote period.

The following Priors are known :—

Alan	occurs	1180
William	„	1239
William de Colneys	„	1248
Nich. de Gippeswic	Jan. 8,	1253
William de Seckeford	resigned	1288-9
John de St. Nicholas	May 5,	1289
Henry de Kersey	Nov. 23,	1311
William Audrey	occurs	1317
Thomas	„	1323
Hugh	„	1324
William de Gippeswic	„	1349
William (perhaps the same)	„	1359
Thomas	„	1361
John de Monewden	July 16,	1382
William Blome	succeeded July 18,	1385
John	occurs	1395
John Gylmyn	„	1412
John de Gippeswic	March 12,	1418
John Gyges	died	1443
Geffry Stoke	elected July 4,	1444
John Bestman	occurs	1456
John Mans	„	1461
Geffry Grene	died	1476
John Yorke	succeeded Dec. 1,	1476
Richard Forth	occurs	1481
Robert	„	1513
Thomas	„	1523
John Thetford	„	1533
Ditto	„	1535

Impression of Wallace Heckscher

The Priory of the Holy Trinity was suppressed for the purposes of founding the Colleges of Cardinal Wolsey both at Oxford and Ipswich. But its revenues were never appropriated to this object, for on the disgrace of Wolsey it was granted on the 21st of March, 1544, to Sir Thomas Pope, Knight, afterwards distinguished as a munificent founder in the university of Oxford. From Sir T. Pope the site passed to the Herefords and from thence to its present possessors— the family of Fonnereau. The house now known as Christ Church, was erected by the first grantee—Sir T. Pope.*

Seal—the figure of Christ seated with a book resting upon his left hand and knee, his right hand raised in benediction. The seven candlesticks at his side, and the whole within a quarterfoil, shewing the emblems of the Evangelists. Legend, SIGILL : COMVNE : SCA : XPI : GIPEWICENSIS.

The PRIORY of St. PETER and St. PAUL, situate in the parish of St. Peter, was also a Priory of Austin Canons, and was founded in the reign of the same king as that of the Holy Trinity—Henry II. But little is known of its history. Thomas de Lacy and Alice his wife are said to be the founders, and there were attached to it the churches of St. Edmund a Pountney, St. Austin, St. Mildred, St. Nicholas, St. Peter, St. Mary at Kay, in Ipswich; and Thurleston, Cretingham, Crew, Wherstead, and Dokesworth. It also held the tithes of St. Matthew and the manor of St. Peter, also in Ipswich; Thorp and Letheringham, Harold in Burstall, and St. Peter in Cretingham and

* Two Rentals of this Priory, circa Henry III and Edward I, have been given to the public in a privately printed volume, by Wm. Powell Hunt, Esq. Ipswich.

Hintlesham. Nor does this include all its possessions. In Taxatio Ecclesiastica in 1291, its possessions were estimated in 54 parishes and amounted to £46 : 0 : 11. To this list might be added the Monastery of Wherstede, a religious house, small and but little known, to which the manor and lands in the village were attached.

PRIORS.

Gilbert	occurs	1251
Nicholas	„	1252
William de Seckforde	resigned	1289
Henry de Burstall	admitted	1304
Hugh		1309
Henry de Kersey	admitted	1319
Robert	occurs	1333
William de Gippeswic	admitted	1349
John Monewden	admitted	1381
John de Gippeswic	admitted	1491
Jeffry Stoke	occurs	1444
John York admitted 1476	resigned	1496
Thomas Goodwin	occurs	1513
William Browne	the last Prior	1527

The Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul, was another of those small Monasteries suppressed for the purpose of founding the College of Cardinal Wolsey in his native town, and became so far distinguished as to serve as the site on which the short-lived new establishment of its munificent donor was doomed to be erected, or nearly so, and then to fall. But few remains of this Priory have been discovered, and none above ground. When the College of the Cardinal was erected most probably the buildings of the old foundation were removed, or as the new progressed. Modern times can only testify to the existence of the foundation of the original Priory. These were seen upon the disturbance of the soil between St. Peter's church and the river;* and again in the year 1849,

* At the period when the Foundry of Bond, Turner, and Hurwood was erected.

when the ground beneath a building rather to the south west of the church of St. Mary at Key was removed for the purposes of improvements.*

FRIARIES.

The BLACK FRIARS, the remains of whose house have in part existed down to within our own times, occupied a large extent of ground between Foundation Street and the Lower Wash. The Refectory ran nearly north and south, and after the Dissolution was adapted to the purposes of a Grammar School. Other parts were separated to form an establishment founded by Elizabeth, for the reclamation of beggars and the teaching of industrious habits to those under confinement. The part appropriated to this purpose ran nearly east and west at the northern end of the large space of ground now occupied by Daundy's Foundation—an eleemosynary establishment which gave its name to the street.

The Black Friars settled in the town of Ipswich about A.D. 1270, and soon obtained many friends and benefactors. The founder of their monastery is questionable. John Haws,-Hawes, or Harys is named as most probable; but Speed and Weever assert that

* On the removal in 1849 of an old house immediately opposite the Sea Horse Tavern, forming one side of a coal yard belonging to the late N. Byles, Esq. arches were found of the Norman character which were presumed to have formed a portion of the priory. It may be as well to remark here, that this house was a good specimen (within) of the merchant houses with which Ipswich abounded. In a lower room was a carved chimney-piece of remarkable character. Pillars upon which figures in dresses of the time were carved in high relief stood out distinct from the rest of the work. The upper rooms were wainscotted about two thirds of their height to the ceiling, the intervening space being covered with canvas painted in hunting and other designs.

three persons bearing the christian name of the king, namely Henry de Loudham, Henry Redhead, and Henry Manby, or Manesby, gave them such possessions as induced the Friars permanently to settle in the town. Roger Bigod, Adam de Brandeston before 1362, Dame Maud Boerill,* John Fastolf and his wife Agnes,* Joan Charles,* Edmund Charlton,* Alice Harneys 1307, Gilbert Rouldge,* Sir John Sutton, Sir Richard Plays, Lady Margaret Plays, Robert Ufford Earl of Suffolk, Edmund Saxham,* Sir John Howard, 1385, were benefactors, but these are but few of the names which have come down to modern times as persons who assisted the Friars in the establishment of their house. It was a practice which almost passed into a custom that great people should be buried within the confines of the Black Friars, and a testamentary disposition of their bodies was generally accompanied by pecuniary assistance to the community. By this means the Friars obtained considerable donations, though they depended much on daily alms for subsistence.

The ancient will books deposited in the Registry of the Archdeaconry attest the fact of numerous, if not large donations to the Black as well as other houses of Friars, while the Priories obtain but few testamentary benefactions. In 1439, Richard Deer, of Ipswich, though not buried in the Black Friars' precincts, left 5*s.* to the house. John Flemyng in 1438, bequeathed them 20*s.*; John Pryour 1437, left the Friars' Preachers 13*s.* 4*d.*; John Walle 1444, 20*d.*; Joan Councellor 1447, 3*s.* 4*d.*; John Perryman 1446, 6*s.* 8*d.*; William Pypho, 40*d.*; William Silvester 1450 3*s.* 4*d.* These items exhibit the nature of the gifts, and shew the fact that the wants of the Friars were extensive.

* Buried in the Black Friars' grave yard or church.

Considerable portions of the buildings belonging to the Black Friars have existed down to the year 1849. The church, or chapel, which stood in a space of ground above the new Almshouses, was standing when Kirby published his "Twelve Prints" of Antiquities in the County of Suffolk in 1748, but has long been destroyed. This chapel was of the Decorated style of architecture, and appears to have been a handsome and well lighted building, without aisles, having a small chantry attached to it. The roof was of high pitch bearing ridge-lanterns, and at one end was a pinnacle or turret. The Refectory of the establishment became the Grammar School, and the lower portion of this building, discloses several early English arches where the back abuts on the houses forming the street called the Lower Wash Christ's Hospital and its curious cloisters were built out of the ruins of the monastic buildings, and when pulled down within a few years exhibited many of the features of the old foundation. On the site of the Almshouses which have been recently built, stood the County or Shire-hall, which has long since been levelled with the ground and removed.

The site of the Black Friars was granted to Wm. Sabyn in 1541, a great benefactor to the church of St. Mary Key. Its present possessors are the Corporation (through purchase from Mr. Southwell,) and the Charity Trustees for the administration of the funds of Tooley's, Daundy's and other charities.*

* The great changes which have taken place on this spot, and the certainty of others, renders it necessary that full information should be given with reference to the site. When the Charity Trustees designed to build the present Almshouses in lieu of the older buildings, a doubt existed as to which body, the Corporation or the Charity Trustees held the ground. The question was thoroughly

examined by both bodies, and each prepared a statement, from which the following information is taken. The narrative also gives some official insight into the original institution and history of Christ's Hospital, spoken of in another portion of this volume.

Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Charity Trustees.

"Christ's Hospital, in Ipswich, may be considered as having been established under a Charter from Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1572. It was designed for the relief of the poor and destitute, the maintenance and education of orphan and unprotected children, and at the same time for the employment and correction of idle and disorderly persons. Its leading character in the Charter appears to be charitable or eleemosynary. The site on which the buildings of the Hospital were erected, was formerly the house and grounds of the Black Friars Preachers. The Bridewell and School-house, lately demolished, the late Shire Hall and Yard, the Old Grammar School and Play-ground, were all portions of the Black Friars Preachers premises. These grounds, with the buildings then on them, were purchased by the Corporation, with monies which seem to have been partly their own and partly held by them in trust for the poor of Ipswich. From the Institution in 1572 to about the year 1600, there are frequent entries in the Corporation books, shewing that Christ's Hospital was used for a house of relief and correction. After the last-mentioned date, and the enactment of the Poor Law 43 Eliz. very little appears in the books for a long time, in relation to this Hospital.

"It is, however to be gathered from occasional entries, that children continued to be taught in it, but there is no record of its employment during those days for ordinary civil and municipal uses. We therefore think that through that time it was regarded as already limited and indefeasibly appropriated to the purposes of a charitable foundation. In 1674, Mr. Nicholas Phillips left an estate for maintaining, clothing, and teaching poor boys in Ipswich. The Corporation placed this school in Christ's Hospital, probably considering its objects similar to the charitable work which was still carrying on there. After the Shire Hall was erected on the Hospital grounds, the Corporation divided the rents of this new building between themselves and the Hospital, regarding themselves as entitled to a share in consequence of having incurred cost in the structure, and appearing in the application of the other part to recognize the principle, that all the profitable revenue must belong to charitable purposes. The principle that the Hospital, and not the Corporation,

had paramount rights on the ground, appears not to have been questioned. Our conclusion is, that the ground, with all on it, is legally limited to charitable objects, akin to those of the original institution, and therefore must now fall in itself, as well as in its revenues, under the entire management of the Charity Trustees."

Report of the Estate Committee of the Corporation, upon the foregoing Report of the Charity Trustees.

"The Committee have considered this Report and the evidence bearing on the subject, and although they are ready to admit that the question is one of some difficulty, they by no means assent to the conclusion, 'that the property is legally limited to charitable objects, and must now fall under the entire management of the Charity Trustees.'

"As the Council is not the tribunal to try the question, it would be useless to go into any minute detail of the evidence, and the Committee propose therefore merely to report what appears to them to be a correct view of the case—regard being had to the purpose for which the property was originally purchased by the Corporation, and the several uses to which it has been subsequently applied.

"It appears that the house and grounds of the Black Friars Preachers extended in length from what is now called Paul's Brewery to the front garden of the house occupied by Mr. Wretts, and in width from the street called Foundation Street to the rising ground which was part of the Old Town-wall. The premises were purchased by the Corporation in 1659, partly with their own money and partly with money belonging to Tooley's Charity, and in respect of which latter part, a portion of the purchased premises, namely, those Almshouses known as Tooley's Upper Foundation, were given by the Corporation to that Charity. The conveyance was made absolutely to the Corporation to their own use and benefit, and contains no trust, nor any other statement whatever as to the object for which the purchase had been made.

"The Charter, however, which was soon afterwards granted by Queen Elizabeth, explains the object, and states that the Corporation 'moved with an honest and laudable zeal of charity, not only commisserating the poor, the aged, the orphans, the widows, the sick, and others that are in want, but also induced by their prudent regard for the common-weal, *to correct the vagrants and vagabonds begging without real necessity*, who are the lazy drones of the common-wealth and the seminary of thieves, have built and prepared several houses,

structures, and edifices, *upon their own ground*, within the town of Ipswich aforesaid, at their own proper costs and charges.'

"It may be said, that from these expressions the leading character of the Charter appears 'to be charitable or eleemosynary,' but it must be remembered that the dissolution of the religious houses had greatly increased the number of impotent poor in the several towns throughout the kingdom, and that the Legislature had up to this date provided no adequate remedy. Our Public Records show that the increase here had been enormous, and had for some time occupied the attention of the inhabitants, not merely as a fit object for the exercise of their benevolence, but as a serious public evil, requiring their active interference to suppress. The Municipal Body had taken the lead in all the discussions upon this subject, and it seems natural that they should at length (anticipating the Legislature) have provided a place for the reception of the poor, '*that they might not*,' as the Charter states, '*be left to perish, to the great scandal of the Christian religion*,' and also for the reception and punishment of the 'lazy drones,' and 'vagabonds;' or in other words, that they should have established a Public Workhouse and House of Correction.

"Looking at the whole tenor of the Charter, such seems to have been the nature of the establishment contemplated, and the expression of an eleemosynary meaning in that document seems to be no more than what might, in that day and under those circumstances, have been fairly applied to such an object.

"That the Corporation intended to provide nothing more nor less than a Public Workhouse and House of Correction, seems obvious from the fact, that they set apart such a portion of the premises as were deemed sufficient, and used for precisely that object from the date of the Charter, down to the 43rd of Elizabeth.

"The portion thus set apart and dedicated to the purposes mentioned in the Charter, consisted of the house and premises lately used as the House of Correction and Hospital School House, including the large quadrangle at the back. Into this establishment the Corporation sent the poor and sick of all ages, setting the able-bodied to work, and punishing the idle and disorderly. There was no limit as to the number of admissions, every body was admitted that was neccessary to allay the prevailing evil, and so great was the expense of the establishment that not only the Corporation funds but those of Tooley's and other Charities, as well as the pockets of the inhabitants, were from time to time taxed toward its maintenance and support. During the whole of this period the entries upon the subject in the Corporation records are numerous,

and it seems to have occupied a considerable portion of the public attention. The passing of the 43rd of Elizabeth, and the establishment of Parochial Workhouses, removed the necessity for any such establishment for the relief of the poor, and consequently from the date of that Act, as stated by the Charity Trustees, very little appears in the books for a long time in relation to the subject—in fact, with the exception of continuing to use it as a House of Correction, little or nothing seems to have been done until the year 1674, when Mr. Nicholas Phillips gave to the Corporation an estate at Debenham, upon trust, for maintaining, clothing, and teaching poor boys in Ipswich, and directed his executors to provide a house for that purpose. Shortly afterwards the Corporation placed this school in this part of the premises, which had become no longer necessary as a public Workhouse, and the School continued there from that time to the recent removal of it by the Charity Trustees.

"It must be observed, however, that during the whole of this period this part of the premises was also used as a House of Correction, and it continued to be so used until the Corporation removed that Establishment to the Borough Gaol.

"From the very foundation of the Establishment, therefore, this part of the property, and which is the only part that was ever dedicated to the objects of the Charter, has been used as a place of punishment for '*the vagrants and vagabonds—the lazy drones of the Commonwealth—the idle and disorderly persons.*' The Corporation had an undoubted right to continue thus to use it for an object which was not only akin but identically the same as one of the important objects for which, as the Charter expresses it, the Corporation had built the premises on their own grounds, and at their own proper costs and charges. Whatever, therefore, may be said of the other part of the premises purchased of the Blackfriars Preachers, this part at any rate cannot have fallen '*under the entire management of the Charity Trustees.*'

"With respect to the other part of the property, namely,—the Grammar School Playground and the old Shire Hall Yard, the question stands rather upon a different footing. The part now used as the Grammar School Room seems to have been used at one time for holding Corporate Meetings; at another as part of the Town Bridewell; as a place of deposit for the Town Library; as a public Store House, and lately for the Grammar School. The Corporation always assuming the control, and directing the application of it to such uses as they deemed for the time being most fitting.

"The Old Shire Hall Yard seems never to have been considered

until recently, as a part of the property intended for the support of the Institution founded under the Charter of second Elizabeth. The building, called the Shire Hall, was erected in 1698, and it would appear, from the entries, that the site was fixed upon as a part of the Corporation property; the order being that it should be built on the meadow behind the Hospital, and no reference whatever being made to the Governors of that Institution, or any furthur notice taken of its existence. The building, when erected, seems to have been principally used for holding the Assizes, Borough and County Sessions—the county paying the town treasurer an allowance for the use of it. It was not till 1816 that any order appears for the payment of anything to Christ's Hospital, on account of this building. It was then ordered that the £50 a year offered by the county, on having a lease of the Shire Hall, should be divided into the following proportions, viz. £20 to Christ's Hospital, and £30 to the Corporation. The £20 was paid accordingly until the expiration of the lease, when the Corporation, who had used it jointly with the county, were left sole occupiers of the building, and continued to use it for Municipal purposes It appears therefore, that the Corporation had erected this building, upon what was then admitted to be their own ground, and that they had never parted with their interest in it, except for the temporary purpose of this lease to the county, and consequently they were entitled to the building itself, and are now equally so to its site.

"With respect to the ground which surrounded this building, and called the Shire Hall Yard, it appears from 1764, down to the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act, the Governors of Christ's Hospital charity were in the habit of letting it at a small rent and appropriating the rent towards the maintenance of the School, and in many instances the Corporation as Trustees of the Charity, concurred in granting leases of rights of way, and small plots of ground to different parties, the rents being all reserved to the School.

"The appropriation of these petty rents to the use of the School probably proceeded from the notion that the ground was part of the property originally dedicated to the object mentioned in the Charter, and could legitimately be appropriated to the support of the School. This ground however, was clearly no part of the premises thus originally dedicated, and if it had been such, this new appropriation of it to an object evidently not contemplated by the Charter, could not be justified.

"Therefore only a portion of the property in question was ever

specially dedicated by the Corporation to the objects mentioned in the Charter, and these objects appear to have been more of a public and municipal character than eleemosynary, and that there is now no object to which the whole could be so appropriately and so legitimately applied, as the discharge of the expenses necessarily incurred in the *maintenance and punishment of offenders*, the preservation of the public peace, and the performance of the other duties required by the Corporation.

"At the same time, the Committee are far from recommending any step which might encroach upon the just rights of Christ's Hospital School; on the contrary, they consider that the Corporation should, as far as they can consistently with their duty to the rate-payers, assist in the maintenance of so admirable an institution.

"And although it would appear that its objects, if at all akin to those contemplated by the Charter of Elizabeth, are not so nearly allied to them as the others are to which the Committee have referred; still it must be admitted, that the question is one of some difficulty, and should, if possible, be amicably arranged with the trustees, that the expense consequent upon its litigation may be saved, and the property at once made productive."

The two bodies accommodated their differences—Christ's Hospital pulled down and its School removed to Stoke—the Almshouses were afterwards erected on the site of the old Shire Hall.

The common seal of the Friary is oval—the Virgin seated with an infant Christ in her arms. Below under a pointed arch, but in a building of Norman style, is a Friar praying, or preaching. Motto—S . Cõvent . Frm . Predicatorvm . Gippeswici.* The matrix of the seal is in the Bodlean Library, Oxford.

The GREY, or FRANCISCAN FRIARS, had their monastery in the parish of St. Nicholas, a little to the south west of the church. It was of early

* There are various representations of portions of this Friary. Kirby gives the one mentioned and an ichnography. Henry Davy and Wat. Hagreen have also engraved views—the first in a fugitive plate—the latter in the "Pictorial Antiquities of Ipswich."

origin, having been founded by Sir Robert Tiptot of Nettlestead, who died in 25th Edward I.

Like the Black Friars, the Franciscans of Ipswich had many benefactors, many of whom are buried within the confines of the monastery. The following are known as having aided the Grey Friars :—Dame Una the wife of the Founder, Sir Robert Vere, the elder, Margaret Countess of Oxford, Elizabeth wife of Sir Thomas Ufford, Sir Robert Tiptot, the younger, and Margaret his wife, Robert Tiptot, Lady Elizabeth Spencer wife of Robert Tiptot, Dame Beatrix Botiler, Joan wife of Sir Hugh Spencer, Sir Robert Wakesham and Dame Joan, Sir Thomas Hardell, Dame Elizabeth wife of Sir Walter Clopton, Sir William Laynham, Sir Hugh Peach, Sir John Lovelock, Dame Petronill Ufford, Dame Aveline Quatfield, Dame Margery aunt of Sir Robert Ufford, Dame Alice widow of Sir John Holbrok, Robert Wentworth 1452.*

But little is known of these small Friaries, but the following inventory of the goods and chattels of the Grey Friars exists in the Rolls Office.†

The inventory of the Grey Friars in Gipsw^{ch} made the vij day of Apreyle in the xxixth yere (1537-8) of King Henry the viijth by the kinges visitor Richard Suffragan of Canturbury at ye.....of Mr. Stysted Haley and Will^{m} Laurens.

FFIRST RECEYVYD OUT OF THE QUERE.

iiij gret candlesticks for tapers.
on small candelsticke.
ij lampis hanginge.

* A small wood cut of the remains of this Friary is given in Clarke's History of Ipswich, and Mr. Henry Davy has engraved a good delineation of a series of arches. All traces of the remains have disappeared for some years. The site is now occupied by buildings.

† Chapter House Papers, vol. A, 3, 11.

an holewat^{r} stoppe w^{t} the sprinkell laten.
xx boks good and ill.
a lecterne of timber.
a small forme imbowyed.

OUT OF THE VESTERY.

a gret chest and in y^{t} a gret clothe to ley before the alt^{r}.
ij small silk pelowys summ good summ ill.
ij feyer silke pelowys y^{t} was lady curseyns.*
xvj other cowscheyns some good and some ill.
itm. hangyns for the quere of small valuue xviij.
a vayle for the quere in lentt.
also in a nother lesser chest an olld alt^{r} clothe w^{t} a frontlet.
ij lining olld alt^{r} clotheis.
vij olld vestments of litill valuue w^{t} owt alb, or of chisble.
ij olld tunakylls nowthe^{r}.
an olld albe.
ij blacke cowcheyns coveyd w^{t} fustians of.....

OWTHE OF THE SAME VESTERY.

a supultare.
an emptey coffer schest and no thing in y^{t}.
ij olld candelstickys small w^{t} a broken pixte laten.
a litill basen.
olld freyayd clotheis and on olld hanging lan^{r}.
ij small cowsecheyns.
an other gret chest bonde w^{t} eyron and in y^{t} thingis of litill valuue or non.

OWGHT OF THE KICHIN.

iiij brasse potte pottys ij of them good.
iij feyar spetys.
ij feyar hingells (?)
a laten bason.
a fayer kettell and a capp.
ij platters on dische and iij saucers.
The backhouse and the mylkhouse apperith in another indenture.

OWGHTE OF THE BUTTERY.

ij table clotheis pore.

* Wife of Sir Robert, commonly called Lord Curzon, who resided in a magnificent house on the site of Silent street. Among the old maps and plans in the Brit. Mus. is "a platte of ye Lord Curzon's house."

ij pore towellys.
iij laten basins
ij ewars laten.
on candelsticke.
on oll hamp^{r}.
a litille form.
a chayer.

OWGHT OF THE GARNER.

in whete iij combe and ij buschelys.
in rey vj combe and a buschell.
in malte xxvj combe and ij buschells.

OUGHTE OF THE CHESE HOUSE.

a peyar of schelys the beme eyaren.
in small chesyes a whei a quarter and halfe.

OUGHTE OF THE WARDENS UPPER CHAMB$^{R.}$

an olld .....
a prop cubbard.
a feyar forme.
the hangin of ye chamb^{r} pore.
an other.
a bason an ewar pewter.
a platte and a litill pewt^{r} pott.
an ewar laten.
a laten candelstyche.
iiij cowscheyns and a litill .....
v cheyars.
ij fet^{r} beddis w^{t} ij bolsters.
ij peyer blanckitts.
ij feyer cov'ings ye on lynge.
iiij pelowys w^{t} ij pelowbags.
a peyer of sehtchs.
an olld tester litill worth.
...small imagis y^{t} w^{t} on the cubbard.
an andeyryng and ij peyer of tongis
an olld bolster with flockys.
a feyar portall imboyed.

OUGHTE OF THE WARDENS NETHER CHAMB$^{R.}$

a fetherbedde w^{t} the bolster.
ij pelowys.
a flat tabill.

a cheyer.
ij andeyrions.
a fire pan
a fyre forke.
a greydiron.
a litill bell.

OWGHTE OF THE CHAMB^{R} IN WHICH YE WARDEN LITHE.

a fet^{r} bedde w^{t} the bols^{r}.
a blankyt.
an olld .....
a cubbard.
iij stillatorys.
other habardache of litill valuue.

OWGHTE OF THE VICE WARDENS CHAMB^{R}.

a small con.....
an olld chest.
a flocke bedde.
a cubbard.

OWGHTE OF AN HOWSE IN THE DORT^{R}.

a feyar gret chest and other thingis of litill valewe.
many other things..... y^{t} be not here worthy.

All this stuffe before menction ys leyd in a close howse w^{t} in the blak freers suarly lockyd and the por' charged w^{t} it.

Beside all ye stuffe before mention, recywyd owt of the vestery in an old chest.

ij rochettis.
iij copis of clothe of bawkin.
vij olld copis besyde.
a white alt^{r} clothe w^{t} ye frontlette.
iij frontlets.
vj alt^{r} clothis.
a feyn herse clothe y^{t} ley upon the lorde Cursons herse.*

* By this it seems clear that Lord Curson, so called by courtesy, he being but a knight, (though he was also a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, and therefore perhaps came his higher title,) was buried at the Grey Friars, and that a tomb was erected to his memory upon which was raised a "hearse." The hearse it is well known was an open series of laten or brass bars stretching the whole length of an effigy, and bound together by hoops of metal. Beneath the arch thus made, the figure rested, and over the hearse was usually thrown a pall to keep the effigy from the dust. At the period when this inventory was taken, Lord Curson had been dead but few years, as Henry VIII paid him a visit at his house at Ipswich, in 1522. One of the few hearses remaining in England stands over the splendid brazen effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in the Beauchamp Chapel, St. Mary's Church, Warwick.

a border of bucram for ye same.
ij olld alt^{r} clothes of lining for the hie alt^{r}.
iiij small lining alt^{r} clothis.
ij litill corse towells.
a corporas w^{t} ye cases.
a canopey for the sacramint.
xvij albys.
xvj amises.
certyn stolys.
xiij vestments good and bad.
x tunakills.

This pc'llys of plate and other stuffe receyvyd of the Grey Freers of Gipswche the wth was conveyed in to divse placys. Ffirst receyvyd from Thomas Sillisdon to him conveyed for a crafty bill conseyned of the sale w^{t} ye money payde xvj$^{l.}$ x$^{s.}$ as by the bill apperith, and yet no suche matt^{r} but iiij$^{l.}$ x$^{s.}$ owing the w^{h} ye visitor payd.

Item primas a senser.
iij flat .....
a litill salt w^{t} the cover fresh gilt.
a stonding cuppe w^{t} ye cov^{r}.
a chalis all gilt.
all this in weight xxv unc. vj dwt. di.

Item receyved from the sayd Sillysdon also to him conveyed xij silver sponyes weight xij unc. di.

Item conveyed to the Archedecons place* a crosse w^{t} a cristall in y^{t} a chalis all gilt bothe weing iij score and ix unc.

Item receyved from Mother heriward a pownsyd pece and vj sponys weinge xv unc. dwt.

Item reyceyved of the Lorde Wentworthe y^{t} had receyved of legey (?) the wth was plegid to him, for the with he sayd y^{t} he payde to legey iij$^{li.}$ and the freers say y^{t} y^{t} was not full xvj$^{os.}$ but the lorde woll^{d} take no money, the weight xxvj unc. di.

Item receyved in another place the bonde and fote of a ..... weing iij unc. di.

* A house called the Archdeacon's Palace, was situated in North Gate Street. One tall gate-house and a deeply recessed door-way in the outer wall to the street, still remain of this building.

Item receyved in a nother place a mas^{r} weing w^{t} ye bolle vj unc. di.

Item reyceyved a chalis weing vij unc. di.

Item reyceyved a nother litill mas^{r} with a fote from Silleysdon weing vij unc. di.

Item receyvyde a ..... w^{t} cop and gilt bonde.

S'm totalis xxvij unc. xix d. iij g.

Item iiij sponys y^{t} wer in the friers buttery.

This plate above written ye lorde visitor hathe.

Item reyceyved from Thomas Sillisdon a vestement of purpill velvett at the albe and ..... wanting stole and amis.

Item from thense a tunakill w^{t} ye albe and amis not like of satan figure w^{t} a good offeras wanting the stole.

Item from the same Sillisdon iij feyer corporases w^{t} the cases and on auter stone very good.

Item from the same place a good tester and iiij corteyneys of grene and red saye.

Item from the same place ij large tabil clothis the one diap the other pleyne clothis.

Item from the same place vj towelles of which v diap and one pleyne and on old sey coving.

Item from the .....howse a littill fe^{r} bedde and a payer of schytes.

Item from an other place a singil vestment w^{t} ye albe and p'tenance of grene satin—the crosse rid satin with flowers

Item owt of an other place a feyer cope well embroyderyd w^{t} gold flowers of white sarsnet with a riche offeras and the armes of y^{t}

Item a blacke vestment of satin w^{t} an offeras of crimson velvet w^{t} albe and all y^{t} long to y^{t}

This stuffe before written Will^{m} Laurens hathe in custody.

Barby: *Treen.*
Barnstaple: *Harper.*
Barkham: *Ditchfield.*

...ludes by stating that certain utensils were ...the visitors received

Caerwent: *Martin.*

50

a border of bucram for ye same.
ij olld alt^{r} clothes of lining for the hie alt^{r}.
iiij small lining alt^{r} clothis.
ij litill corse towells.
a corporas w^{t} ye cases.
a canopey for the sacramint.
xvij albys.
xvj amises.
certyn stolys.
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Item primas a senser.
iij flat.....
a litill salt w^{t} the cover fresh gilt.
a stonding cuppe w^{t} ye cov^{r}.
a chalis all gilt.
all this in weight xxv unc. vj dwt. di.

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Item reyceyved of the Lorde Wentworthe y^{t} had receyved of legey (?) the wth was plegid to him, for the with he sayd y^{t} he payde to legey iij$^{li.}$ and the freers say y^{t} y^{t} was not full xvj$^{os.}$ but the lorde woll^{d} take no money, the weight xxvj unc. di.

Item receyved in another place the bonde and fote of a..... weing iij unc. di.

* A house called the Archdeacon's Palace, was situated in North Gate Street. One tall gate-house and a deeply recessed door-way in the outer wall to the street, still remain of this building.

Item receyved in a nother place a mas^{r} weing w^{t} ye bolle vj unc. di.

Item reyceyved a chalis weing vij unc. di.

Item reyceyved a nother litill mas^{r} with a fote from Silleysdon weing vij unc. di.

Item receyvyde a ..... w^{t} cop and gilt bonde.

S'm totalis xxvij unc. xix d. iij g.

Item iiij sponys y^{t} wer in the friers buttery.

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Item from thense a tunakill w^{t} ye albe and amis not like of satan figure w^{t} a good offeras wanting the stole.

Item from the same Sillisdon iij feyer corporases w^{t} the cases and on auter stone very good.

Item from the same place a good tester and iiij corteyneys of grene and red saye.

Item from the same place ij large tabil clothis the one diap the other pleyne clothis.

Item from the same place vj towelles of which v diap and one pleyne and on old sey coving.

Item from the .....howse a littill fe^{r} bedde and a payer of schytes.

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Barby: *Treen.*
Barnstaple: *Harper.*
Barkham: *Ditchfield.*

...ludes by stating that certain utensils were ...ing the visitors received

Caerwent: *Martin.*

50

the inmates were exceedingly poor. A fragment of a petition exists from the impoverished community at the period when it was marked out for destruction, which prevailing serves not only to illustrate the lean state of things in the Ipswich House of Carmelites, but also many others. The original is deposited in the Augmentation Office.*

The p'on of the Carmeylytts of Ipsewiche supplicacion to the Lorde Crumwell.

Moste piteouslye lamenting and complayning therewith unto ye moste honorable Lordshipp, yo^r^ poore and dayly orators the Prior and hys cobrethren Carmelyte of the poore religious howse of Gipwych; That where as, one Doct^r^ Ingworth, suffragan unto my lorde of Cantebury, yo^r^ lordeshippes deputye and visitor, hath byn w^t^ us the kinges poore true obedient subgettes and poore religious Ffreres Carmelyte aforesaid, to the entent and according to the tenor of his commission to reforme and redresse suche causes as wer leful (?) by y^r^ good lordshippe and other the kinges counsaile thought convenient; so y^t^ is Right honourable good lorde that we the foresaid pore religious men and y^r^ lordshippes dayly orat^m^ being dayly Invaded w^t^ urgent povt^e^ and moste extreme necessitie of every constraint, were compelled to selle certen tenements in the

* No engraved views of any portion of this Priory exist. Mr. James Conder, Ipswich, possesses a drawing of an arched door-way belonging to the Friary. John Kiningham was the 21st provincial of the Carmelites, or White Friars, in England. He is mentioned in Fox's Martyrology, folio, 437—39, as one of those who sat on the trials or examination of Nic. Hereford, Phil. Repyndon, and John Ayshton, bachelors in divinity. Bale (158) mistakes and calls him a Suffolk man, which came from his being first educated among the Carmelites in Ipswich. He was afterwards D.D. of Oxford, a modest, temperate, prudent, and learned divine—so much beloved by John Duke of Lancaster, that he made him his chaplain and confessor to himself and lady. He was author of many books, an account of which may be seen in Petts's English Writers (565.) He died at York and was buried there in 1399, in the 6th year of this provincialship. *Blomfield, Art. Kenningham*, vol. V, p. 75.

towne of Gippiswiche aforesaide, belonging to the saide o^r^ pore religious, for o^r^ dayly ffoode and sestenance, for the some of xxviij^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^ and bycause the saide money should not be mysused or consumed to any other contrary cost than to the relief of y^r^ foresaid pore servetors, we as then receaved not one peny a p'cell thereof before the redrese or comyng of the foresaide visitor. Whereupon at hys repaire unto us, understanding the saide some of money to be out of o^r^ hands and as expressed then by us not received, seased upon the saide money remayning in o^r^ saide hands, unto o^r^ extreme Losse and undoing; And for because w^t^ out yo^r^ good lordshippes aide, fav^r^, and Socour herein to be hadd the sooner, We your saide pore orators cannot enjoy o^r^ pore lyving for that the saide visitor hathe taxed o^r^ daily lyving and cates otherwise then hathe byn accustomed at any tyme, and a great deale under our ordinary charge; That is to saye at iiij^li^ yerely, viz. xx^s^ the qrt^r^, at his onely pleass^r^ and free will; Yet neverthelesse the said visit^r^ notwstanding that, hathe lefte in the handes of Coppin of Gippiswiche foresaide, the some of viij^li^ condicionally for the p'fitts and behoffe of us the forsaide, pr'o^r^ and cobethren, fynding to the saide Coppin sufficient sureties be made in obligacion for the repayment unto the saide Coppin agayn, at what tyme he shall demaunde y^t^ or otherwise, if the saide sum of viiij^li^ be discharged to the intent the residew of the hole stocke of the firste some of xxxviij^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^ shall be reserved and kept hole according unto the foresaid visit^n^ appointment after the rate and taxe aforesaid. By reason whereof yo^r^ saide pore orator being pore in especiall, and like to be utterly Impovrissed w^t^ greate trouble, reperacion, and dangers by reason of his providing, shifting and borrowing money, wares, to and for maytenance of his saide howse and cobrethren, to his uttermoste undoing and hurte, oneless y^r^ good lordshippes of y^r^ most charitable fav^r^ consolacion and comfort herein, wyll provyde both for hym and his breth^a^ the bettar remedy; In whiche yo^r^ lordshippe so doing, tendring and pondering the p'mises w^t^ yor equite and dxteritie, shall not only bynde and, astrict yo^r^ foresaid pore orator and every of them to pray unto allmightie God for your maste .....contynuance in y^r^ felicite with increase of hono^r^ to yo^r^ lordshippes most hartie desire;

But also incessantly to pray for the most p'sperous and fortunate soccesse of y^r^ posteritye, w^t^ semblance increase of hon^r^.

To the r^t^ hon^ble^ Lorde Thomas Crumwell and Lorde Privy Seale one of the Kinges mooste honourable counsale.

(No date.)

If this letter is properly addressed it must have been written after July 9th, 1536, as on that day Cromwell was raised to the peerage as Baron Cromwell of Okeham, and thenceforth styled "lorde."

The following Testamentary Bequests to the Carmelite Friars have been supplied from the collections of Mr. W. S. Fitch, of Ipswich.

			s.	d.
John Pryour, of Ipswich	 1437	.....	33	4
John Pypere, ditto	 1443	.....	10	0
John Toly, of Chelmondiston	1446	.....	10	0
John Broun, of Holbrook	 1439	.....	13	4
John Tyler, of Ipswich	 1451	.....	16	8
Wilks Bowbrook ditto	 1461	.....	6	8
Gilbert Stonham, ditto	 1468	.....	6	8
Thomas Medows ditto	 1479	.....	6	8
William Cady ditto	 1487	.....	10	0
John Baldwin ditto	 1480	.....	10	0
Andrew Curzon ditto	 1511	.....	40	0
William Hacon ditto	 1444	.....	6	8
Thomas Vincent ditto	 1470	.....	20	0
John Bolton ditto	 1471	.....	20	0
Thomas Puntyng ditto	 1476	.....	20	0

A COLLEGE OF SECULAR CANONS, to which was attached a school in aid of the objects of learning attempted to be carried out by Cardinal Wolsey, was founded by this munificent person in his native town in the year 1527-8. The establishment was erected upon the site of the Priory of St. Peter and Paul, in Ipswich, that establishment being one of several small monasteries suppressed for the purpose, including Snape, Dodnash, Wikes, Horkesley, Tiptree, Rum-

burgh, Felixstowe, Bromehill, Blithburgh, and Mountjoy. Excellent, however, as was the intention of the founder, the king would not allow the plan to be completed, although manifestly tending to the extension of education divested to a certain degree of monkish prejudices and restrictions.

The building was commenced in 1528. It was at first intended that the College should be erected out of the Harwich Cliff stone. The Cardinal, misinformed on the subject both as regarded quantity and quality, preferred a request to Elizabeth Dowager Countess of Oxford, widow of John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford, to allow him to take as much stone from her cliff at Harwich, as should be needful for his purpose. This the lady resisted, and on very proper grounds, namely, that no stone existed at Harwich, at least in the cliff, but as a foreland, and the removal from that locality would endanger the safety of the town. The proud stomach of Wolsey would however bear no denial, and another mission was despatched to the Countess, dated July 15, 1528, in which she was told that the refusal of his request arose from another and unworthy motive—she did not wish him to have it. The anger of the Cardinal brought an unreserved proffer of the stone—"be it hurtful or otherwise, your grace to do your pleasure." A portion of the stone of which the College was composed, may therefore reasonably be concluded to have been brought from Harwich, though Wolsey made an application to the French King for permission to take stone from the quarries at Caen, which was granted, and this description of stone is known to have been used, from a letter written by William Capon, the first and last Dean of the establishment, during the progress of the building.

Much doubt remains as to the magnitude and extent of this college, and perhaps no means exist by which the true architectural style and size can be obtained. At the seizure by the King of the property held by Cardinal Wolsey, in Ipswich, the monarch was careful to obtain the fullest and most minute accounts of the expenses to which his late favourite had thought it necessary to proceed in the establishment of an institution which had engaged much of his attention and consideration. Some of these accounts are yet in existence, and by them an approximation may be obtained of what the establishment had cost its founder.

The following undated paper affords information upon the amount actually expended on the building.*

THE CARDINALL COLLEGEM GIPESWICH. } A breve Dokket of all and Singler Sommes of Money Receyade by Master William Capon, doctor in Dyunite, and firste Dean of the saide Colleadge towade the performance of the buyldings ther, as also of all suche payments as have been made since the tyme of my laste accompte declard by the Audytor unto my Lordes Grace.

Arrerage ffurste for money remayning in my handes upon the determination of my laste accompte as in the ffote of the same more playnly Apperithe ..... cccxxiiij$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ v$^{d.}$ ob.

Receipte. Also Receyvede of my Lordes Grace by the andes of Master Doctor Stubbes ..... m$^{li.}$

Some of the charge aforesaide ..... mcccxxiij$^{li.}$ xiij$^{s.}$ v$^{d.}$ ob.

Whereof paide ande Issuede by the saide Master Day, as well for the wages of artificers and labourers, withe provission of Stuff nessary for them at xij sondrey payes. As alsoe for the takinge downe of the howses and clearinge the stone at Snape as by a perticler Jurnall boke therof made more playnly appereth .... mccxxij$^{li.}$ xj$^{s.}$ i$^{d.}$ ob.

Also in money lefte withe the Subdeane of the saide Col-

* Chapter House Papers.

lege whiche was payde at the laste Payinge the x^th^ day of Julye since my cumminge..... c^li^.
Some of the Payments aforesaide ... mcccxxij^li^ xj^s^ i^d^ ob.
And so Remyneth ..... xlij^s^ iij^d^.
Ex^d^ p. me Johan Smythe, Audit.

The College was not finished when this account was drawn up, for these are only the first expenses as far as the works had gone. The completion of an establishment like this could not have been perfected in a year, and as it is known that the Dean wrote to Lord Cromwell in November of the year in which Wolsey fell, giving up the plate and other valuables, with the rough stone lying about for the use of the workmen, we become assured that the building was never completed. It is not improbable that a portion of the buildings of the old Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul was retained by Capon the Dean, and used for the purposes of the establishment. We find accounts of the destruction of the house at Snape, but not at Ipswich, which most likely we should have done had it been removed. The absence of such an item strengthens the idea that the old monastic buildings of St. Peter and St. Paul were applied to the purposes of the College until the new works were either advanced or the old pushed from their positions by the progress of those erecting. Under these circumstances, though we may obtain a correct account of the money expended, it carries no authority for an estimation of the size of the intended building. The munificence of the founder would tend to the conclusion that he contemplated a large erection, and his acknowledged taste in architecture induces a belief that the style of his projected College would be in conformity with the best examples of the age.

This view of the liberal intentions of Wolsey is

supported by the sums appointed for the payment of the officers of the College, and for the expenses of their commons, and those who studied. The regulations, or rather copies of them, are yet in existence, and afford indubitable information upon this head.

"A Rate of the charges of wages, com'ons, and lyuires for the Master, felaws, conduct, scolers, and bedemen, to be maintained in a college *intended* by my Lorde Cardinale's grace to be established within the towne of Ipswich.*

Wages—ffurst a president or Mast^r of the saide College, taking for his wages by the yeare ..... xiij^li. vj^s. viij^d.

Item xij felawes prests, every prest and felawe taking for the wages yerely the summe of iiij^li. ..... xlviij^li.

Item viij clerkes synging men, every man taking for his wage yerely iij^li. vi^s. viij^d. ..... xxvj^li. xiij^s. iiij^d

Item a Master in gram'er taking to his stipend yerely xiij^li. vj^s. viij^d.

Item a vsher taking for his wage yerely ..... iiij^li.

Item a seconde vsher and keeper of the scolehouse..... xl^s.

Item to twelve olde men eche one taking for wages by the yere xiij^s iiij^d ..... viij^li

S'm of the wage before specified cxv^li vj^s viij^d

Wage for the } Item one to kepe the vestery and the churche in due order and cleainesse taking by the yere .... xl^s

Item oon to be bellringer taking by the yere ... xxvj^s viij^d

Item oon butler and oon Master coke taking eache of them for their wages xl^s ..... iiij^li

Item a under coke and oon under butler taking eache of them for the wage of xx^s by yere .... xl^s

Item to oon to be porter and barber ..... xl^s

Item a launder taking by the yere ..... v^li

Item to a housekeeper ..... xxxj^s viij^d

S'm of these wages xvij^li xiij^s iiij^d

* From the Chapter Papers, Rolls Office. Some discrepancy will appear in the sums carried out as totals, but they stand as given in the original.

Ffees } ffurst to a clarke and collector of the rent reveneus by yere ..... xl^{s}
Item to an auditour by yere..... .. xl^{s}
Item to a lerned man in fee yerely ..... xx^{s}
S'm v$^{li.}$

Com'ons—ffurst for the masters comons by the yere viij^{l} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Item for the com'ons of twelve felawes after xvj^{d} a pece wekeley..... xli^{l} xii^{s}
Item for the com'ons of viij clerkys and two vshers after vij^{d} a pece wekely . ... xxvj^{l}
Item for the com'ons of the scolemaster xvj^{d} the weke iij^{l} ix^{s} iiij^{d}
Item for the com'ons of fyfty children after viij^{d} a pece wekeley ..... lxiij^{l} v^{s} iiij^{d}
Item for the com'ons of viij queresters after vj^{d} a weke ev'y of them ..... x^{l} viij^{s}
Item for the com'ons of v servants officers after viii^{d} the weke ..... xvj^{l} xiij^{s}
Item for the com'ons of thre serv^{ts} to waite upon the master after x^{d} a weke..... v^{l} ix^{s} iiij^{d}
Item for the com'ons of viij olde men bedmen after vj^{d} by the weke..... x^{l} viij^{s}

S'm to^{lle} of the com'ons amounteth to &c. } c iiij^{xx} iiij^{l} v^{s} iiij^{d}

Such were the sums set apart by the Cardinal for the support of the College, to which must be added xlvij$^{li.}$ xv$^{s.}$ for liveries. For wine and wax, considerable items in an establishment of this kind, vj$^{li.}$ Repairs of implements in the house iij$^{li.}$ vj$^{s.}$ viij$^{d.}$ Apparel of the choristers and children, with bedding, xxvj$^{li.}$ Provender for the masters' five horses iiij$^{li.}$

The College, however, which was dedicated to the Virgin, was not destined to be of great use to the general community. On the disgrace of its founder it fell into the hands of Henry VIII. On the 12th of November of the same year the Bishop of Norwich sequestered the oblations of the chapel of our Lady, and set a seal on the box of offerings. On the 14th

of the same month the College Commissioners, John Wellesbourne for the king, and Mr. Thomas Halle of Ipswich, with six yeomen of the Guards and eighteen other persons made an inventory of all the plate and goods. They also took away with them a great cross of silver and gilt, a lesser cup, an image of St. Catherine, an image of Our Lady, a large monstrance, three chalics, sundry censers and a fair ship of silver gilt. A fair standing cup belonging to the domestic department of the College, two large bowls of silver and gilt, two salts and three large bowls were also removed. Not only did they strip the building of every article of value, but they charged the Dean, William Capon, with having a thousand pounds of the Cardinal's treasure in his possession. This he denied, but not believing him, they remained five days on the premises before they finally left.

The departure of the Commissioners gave the Dean but little ease, for on Sunday the 21st came Sir P. Tylney, Mr. Lyonell Talmage, and Mr. Everade the Duke of Norfolk's Council and took possession, with the lands at Felixstowe, and Falkenham. Capon, in his relation of their visits appears to have felt the degradation of his master with considerable severity. He says he entertained the people at supper with as good fashion as "his witts would serve him."* On the following day, Capon himself departs for London, and the very site of Cardinal's College becomes in a brief space of time a spot for depositing of the refuse and filth of the town.

As in most towns where monastical establishments existed, Ipswich possessed several HOSPITALS—three

* Capon to Cromwell. Ellis's Letters, Third Series. A list of the plate is given in "Peck's Desiderata Curiosa."

for leprous persons—and one, Daundy's almshouse, was conceived more in the spirit of a modern establishment for the retreat of the unfortunate and impoverished, than an institution of the time, when given by its founder.

The HOSPITAL of ST. MARY MAGDALEN was situated in the parish of St. Helen, and was one of the three established for the reception of poor persons afflicted with leprous diseases. King John granted the right and profit of a fair to St. Mary Magdalen in the first year of his reign, appointing it to be held on the morrow of St. James the Apostle, and Bacon in his manuscript says, the charter to the fair was confirmed in the 7th Edward IV. Upon the Dissolution, the revenues were appropriated to the rectory of St. Helen.

ST. JAMES'S HOSPITAL was also situated in the same parish, and also increased the revenues of the parochial incumbent at the Dissolution. Its object was similar to that of St. Mary Magdalen, was of early establishment, and is mentioned in 1324.

DAUNDY'S ALMSHOUSES, founded by Edmund Daundy, a wealthy merchant of Ipswich, and situated in Lady Lane, in the parish of St. Matthew, were founded by their pious and munificent originator in 1515. The charity still subsists much enlarged.

CHURCHES.

AS already stated, the town of Ipswich contains thirteen churches, twelve of them being ancient structures, and one (Trinity) erected in 1836 by the munificence of the late Rev. J. T. Nottidge, rector of St. Clement and St. Helen's. The ancient structures are St. Matthew, St. Mary at the Elms, St. Mary at the Tower, St. Margarett, St. Lawrence, St. Helen, St. Clement, St. Mary at the Kay, or Quay, St. Peter, St. Stephen, St. Nicholas, and St. Mary in the Hamlet of Stoke. Of these, St. Mary at the Tower, St. Mary at the Elms, St. Lawrence, St. Peter, St. Stephen, and St. Mary at Stoke, are mentioned in the Domesday Survey, together with other churches now either consolidated or fell early into decay—namely, St. Augustine, St. Michael, St. Botolph, St. George, and St. Julian. A chapel also existed dedicated to St. Edmund, now consolidated with St. Helen, and St. Mildred, which occupied the site of the present Guildhall.

The church of St. Botolph was most probably the church dedicated to that Saint in Thurlestone.

The church mentioned as St. Michael is likely to have occupied a site near St. Nicholas church.

The site of St. Edmund, or St. Edmund a Pountney, is not known, but as it was consolidated with St. Helen, after the destruction of the Priory of St. Peter and Paul, most probably it stood near that church, and not at the south west corner of Rosemary-lane, Brook Street, as conjectured by Kirby. It is supposed to have been early dedicated to St. Edmund, king of the East Angles, and afterwards endowed by Sir John de Pountney, or Polteneye, Lord Mayor of London in the fifth year of Edward III, 1331. He traded with that monarch in wools, and is believed to have been as well acquainted with the town of Ipswich and the county of Suffolk as his royal master. This merchant bestowed unmistakable evidences of his piety and munificence in other places besides this town. He founded a chapel in honour of the Holy Cross adjoining the church of St. Lawrence, Candlewick-street, London, in 1333; built the church of All Hallows the Less, Thames-street, and was a great benefactor if not the founder of the White Friars, in the city of Coventry.

Another ancient chapel, not now existing, stood in Lady Lane, in St. Matthew's parish. It was dedicated to our Lady of Grace, and contained an image of the Virgin, to which pilgrimages were made, believed to be possessed of miraculous powers in the cure of diseases. To this chapel a yearly procession was ordered by Wolsey to take place, from his College and the church of St. Peter, on the 8th of September, but this honour to the Virgin was not bestowed more than once, for the disgrace of the Cardinal not only heralded the destruction of his College, but also the chapel, and the marvellous image it contained. Cromwell, the instrument appointed by king Henry VIII to carry out his commands rela-

tive to Wolsey's College, also caused this image of our Lady to be pulled from her niche, and after despoiling the effigy of its rich habiliments and jewels bestowed upon it by the cupidity of the superstitious, it was conveyed to London and destroyed. Our Lady of Grace was estimated as highly as the celebrated Boxley Rood, and is recorded to have performed many marvels.

The chapel dedicated to St. George and mentioned in the Domesday survey stood in Globe Lane, upon the site of houses now called St. George's Terrace. It was from the pulpit of this chapel that Bilney, afterwards a martyr, was "plucked" by the enemies of the Reformation. The remains of this building existed within the last quarter of a century, and had been used as a barn— the architecture of that portion which remained until its destruction, was of the early English period.

The architectural details of the Ipswich churches are not of much interest or beauty. A Norman door-way exists in the south porch of St. Mary at the Elms. This had long been concealed from recognition by a course of masonry, which kept the mouldings from view. The door itself is ornamented with iron-work of the Norman character, and probably the timber and iron of the door, as also the arch, are of the Norman period. At the west end of the south aisle of St. Nicholas church stood imbedded in the wall a large slab of an earlier period, on which was carved a dragon in relief, and the Archangel Michael with extended wings in an attitude of attack. Between the combatants appears an inscription not irrecoverably defaced, but read as—HER SCT MIKAOL FIHT VID DANE DRACA. Another stone, half circular, as if once filling the head of a small round-headed

doorway, also stood in a similar position, on which was carved the outline of a beast partaking chiefly of the form of the wolf, but with some parts of a non-descript character. Round the upper or circular part of the stone is the following—IN DEDICATIONE ECCLESIÆ OMNIUM SANCTORUM. This was evidently, from the inscription, a stone marking the dedication of the chapel to the honour of All Saints, a small curacy in the town ruined and unproductive in 1535, according to the Liber Regis, but still annexed to St. Matthew.* The characters are Roman as far as close examination has gone. The animal on the stone seems to have been without application. That the stone was commemorative of dedication, no doubt can be expressed, as the usual sign of the cross is cut on the reverse.

These stones were removed in 1848, from their situation outside to a position within St. Nicholas church, and in the progress of enlargement and repair of that building at the same period, three portions of stone figures in relievo were found worked into the walls, and evidently of the Saxon period. Each of these pieces of sculpture represents an ecclesiastic, and prove that the episcopal vestments of those early times varied but little from those of a later date by several centuries. The figures on two of these stones are perfect, with the exception of the heads. On one, the right hand of the figure holds an episcopal cross, and the left a maniple. The chesible, the dalmatic and the stole also appear—the fringed extremities of the latter appearing distinctly near the feet. The raiment of the figure on the second stone is

* All Saints is said by Kirby to have been probably situated on a space of ground near Handford Bridge. (Quere.)

more apocryphal, a rude cable ornament apparently running round the outer garment, but even in this specimen the stole is apparent. The third figure is too much mutilated to afford an adequate description of its peculiarities. On this last stone is a portion of an inscription—OSTOLUS (Apostolus?) All the figures had been rudely coloured—red, blue (or green) and portions of a purple tint remain.*

As a specimen of architecture, perhaps St. Margarett's church is superior to others in the town. The clere-story is of excellent Perpendicular work, and there are traces in the lower part of the building of the Decorated period.

The windows of the nave of St. Lawrence are fine, and evidently constructed for the purpose of containing stained glass.

But however small may be the interest attaching to the architectural construction of the churches of this town, the roofs of three claim especial attention—St. Margarett's, St. Mary Key, and St. Mary Stoke. These are what are termed "open roofs," that is, the interior is not ceiled but "open" to the top ridge of the gable, and the timbers, whether following the angular sides of the roof, or such as take a lateral direction for the purpose of strength, are displayed. For the exhibition of ornament, these timbers are carved, or the angles of intersection filled with tracery. Where the timbers connect themselves with the wall-plates, this tracery is often of beautiful character, and

* In the third part of the proceedings of the Suffolk Archæological Association is a paper on St. Nicholas Church, Ipswich, by Dr. Drummond, M.D. in which will be found a delineation of these figures. Other fragments were also found, of which accurate drawings were taken, but not published.

with the other carving of the roof, generally partakes of the style of the period in which the roofs were erected. From the wall-plates, lateral beams frequently spring, at the terminations of which a carved figure often appears. The beam which descends the wall is also made the medium of bearing sculpture of some description. The "open roofs" of Suffolk are renowned, many churches, even in remote districts, possessing one of these timber roofs, which in workmanship and excellence of style would be ornamental to edifices of far more important character.

The roof of St. Margarett's church is more highly ornamented than either St. Mary Stoke, or St. Mary at Key, but in its present painted state—a comparatively modern addition—the excellence of its style is much obscured. It has ten bays, or divisions, and the spandrils formed by the heads of the clere-story windows, are filled with symbolical representations. Among them on the south side from east to west will be found St. Andrew's cross, crown of thorns—cross, sponge and reed—heart on shield—sword and key, reed, sponge and scourge—crown of thorns and hammer—pincers and nails—dice and St. Andrew's cross. On the north side from east to west are—nails and cross—unknown emblems, foliage and shields—shields with the letters M H—dragon and beast—H TR—TR I—M H—I H. These letters are doubtless the initials of persons contributing towards the erection of the roof.

The spandrils within the roof contain principally the rose, pomegranate, crosses on shields, and shields with cross-keys.

The painted armorial coats are some of them false heraldry, but among the true emblazonments may be

seen the arms of Wythepoll, Devereux, Fonnereau, and others, owners of Christ Church estate.*

The church of St. Mary Key possesses an "open roof," and has fortunately met with no restorer who, in addition to perfecting much that required attention, spoiled his work by bedaubing with unworthy designs a performance of great excellence. Much defacement of the roof of St. Mary Key exists, but the rude axe of the Iconoclast of the 17th century, in sparing some portion of a fine work, did not perform an injury so great in intention as he of a more modern period who sought to cover all by the gaudy hues of defacing colour.

The roof of St. Mary Stoke is "open," but the style is simpler than either of the roofs of the preceding churches—nevertheless it bears some ornaments which are worthy of mention.

Each "hammer beam" of the roof of St. Mary Stoke bears an angel with a shield of emblems—the figures are now headless. These emblems consist, on

* The Withypolls finished, if they did not erect, from the foundations the mansion of Christ Church. It has been said that the family originally came from Italy. Not so, however, if the Visitation of 1561 (Harl. MSS. d. 58) is to be taken as authority. In that document it is stated the origin of the family was in Shropshire—"John Withepoole in Com Salop." The Devereuxs descended from the Withypolls, a grandaughter of Sir Edmund Withypoll the first owner of the estate, after the grantee Sir T. Pope, marrying Leicester Devereux Viscount Hereford. From this family, about 1735, the estate was sold to the Fonnereaus, who still hold it. There are not many views of Christ Church mansion extant—the earliest being an etching from Ogilby's map of the "South Prospect of the Lord Visct. Hereford's House," in which a screen runs before the front of the building from the two wings, thus forming a court yard within. A walk separated from a garden or lawn on each side descends from an opening in the screen. In this walk are three figures—two of them probably being Visct. Hereford and his lady. A second view of modern date appears in the "Picturesque Antiquities of Ipswich."

the south side, counting from the west of the scourging post, a chalice, a wreath, a pot and bunch of hyssop, (?) a cross, St. Edmund's crown and the arms of the see of Ely.* On the north side, counting from the west, the first angel has an obliterated shield, then follow ladder, scourges, the three nails, hammer and pincers, reed and spear, and three crowns. The spandrils contain a common example of foliage, with the exception of the fifth on the south side, where a cross is seen. Immediately opposite is an *Agnus Dei.* How, may we ask, did this escape the sharp eyes of Dowsing?

St. Matthew, before its modern enlargement, possessed portions of an ancient roof, particularly in the south aisle, in which the bosses were of good character. Originally, this church possessed much carving, and the altar-piece is constructed from the remains found in the church.

The churches of Ipswich do not contain a single tomb with recumbent effigies. Weever,† about 1629, complains that he found but few "funeral monuments" in the parish churches of the town, and it is singular, that out of these he gives an account of one only, that of John Bottold, 1429, which he says he found on the removal of a pew in St. Lawrence, and understood to be the founder of the present structure. The eyes of this diligent collector of inscriptions must have been sadly remiss in their office, if Weever personally visited Ipswich, for most of the ecclesiastical buildings possessed stained glass in their windows, where the image of the donors and many an Ora pro nobis might have been seen by him. Added to these "storied panes," the floors were studded with brasses. In the church where Bottold's slab

* Stoke is a rectory in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Ely.

† Funeral Monuments, quarto edition, p. 486.

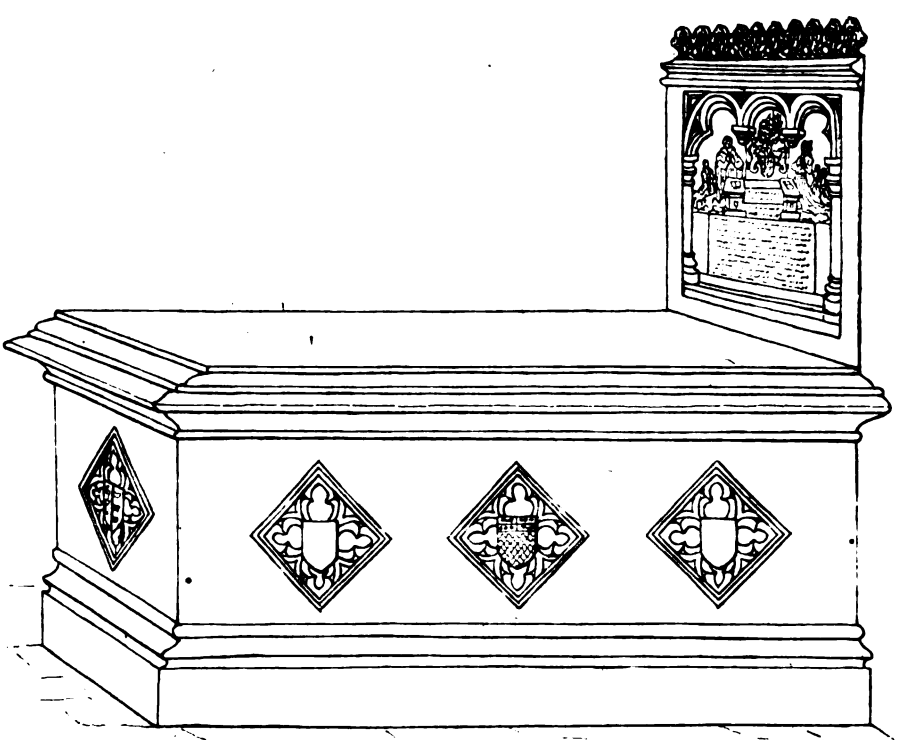
presented itself, lay, in Weever's day, a stone and brass to Daundy the founder of a chantry in the same building, and a relative of Cardinal Wolsey. In St. Mary Key church had lain for more than a century before the time of Weever's journey, the Pownder brass,* a work of art, which by its large size and great beauty must have forced itself on the attention of one who came to observe all that could be seen of this character. In the church of St. Mary at the Tower, in the centre of the middle aisle rested the brazen semblance of Long the notary, and if this had no inscription at the time, both in the north and south aisles Weever might have found other brasses with black letter labels explaining who and what were they that slept below. Weever however made a most imperfect journey himself, and took much of his information, as the title to his book announces, from "approved authours, infallible records, leidger books, charters, rolls, manuscripts, and the collections of judicious antiquaries"—records now found not to be infallible, as Weever's book contains some exceeding errors of commission besides many of omission. But if the records found on the tombs of those enumerated, were not considered of sufficient importance for his purpose, in the same church with the Pownder brass stood the altar tomb of Henry Toolie,† over the east end of which was and is an inscription of brass inserted in the wall, by which the good deeds of the

* Thomas Pownder, died Nov. 7, 1525.

† Henry Toolie, merchant of Ipswich, died August 22, 1551, and was a considerable benefactor to the town. On a wall in Foundation street, near his Almshouses (before the erection of the present buildings,) and which were a series of small and low tenements, were the following lines :—

"In peaceful silence let great Toolie rest,
Whose charitable deeds bespeak him blest."

Here Henrye Sooly lieȝ intombd that man emonge the beſt
By vertue wildome welthe and worſhippe, name emongeſt the beſt
A marchant welthye, whole affayres God furtherid with ſucceſſe
A Portman for his wildome chaȝe, & Bred, whom God did bleſſe
Withe vertuous wyfe & Children iii, A famous Patrone ſure
Whole godlye lyfe Same ſtame preſerves in honoure ay t'indure
This man in deathe by will repoſes, whereto his lyfe was bent
That yeerely gave to wayes & poze, his Landes Tenemt & Annuall Rent
In Ipſwiche ay to ther behoufe, and his immortall fame
A gles to ſhowe the ble of welthe, a paterne howe to frame
A mortall mynde, a meane to move the poor t'extoll the name
Of God allmyghte, but Ipſwiche far vnworthye two to keepe
Of vertues ſutche, ther Bodies here, in Heaven ther Sowles doithe



Drawn & Etched by Walter Hagreen.

TOMB OF HENRY TOLYE, ST. LAWRENCE CHURCH, IPSWICH.

deceased are recorded in becoming terms. Weever, however, had but little affection for the records of the dead, if at the period of his collection they had not the stamp of antiquity upon them. But another reason, perhaps the chief, why Weever omitted the collection of many monumental inscriptions that could have been gathered by him in parochial churches, was the fact that the chief end of his commission was the registration of the epitaphs of the great and noble personages of the realm, and such as were as highly distinguished by ancient and lordly descent as renowned for their good deeds. No other conclusion than that Weever neglected a proper collection of the memorials of the dead to be found in the churches of this town, can be arrived at by a comparison of his book with those known to have existed in his day. The chief of those enumerated as neglected exist down to the present time, but how numerous were these remains in Weever's time may be seen by those recorded as destroyed by Dowsing. This man in the Journal of his exploits states, that on the 29th of January, 1643, he took up six superstitious inscriptions at St. Mary Tower. At St. Matthew's he brake down thirty-five superstitious pictures (in the windows), and between twenty and thirty at St. Margarett's on the next day. In St. Lawrence church the painted glass in the windows had been broken, according to the king's injunctions in 1547, and therefore could not have been seen by Weever.

How far Dowsing proceeded in his work of destruction in the churches of Ipswich, the following extracts from his notorious Journal will shew:*—

* William Dowsing, to whom the Duke of Manchester granted a warrant for the destruction of Superstitious Pictures to be found in churches in the County of Suffolk, in 1643-4, is stated to have resided at Stratford St. Mary, Suffolk. This may be the case, but

"Ipswich. *Stoke Mary's,* January 29, 1643. Two crosses in wood, and two cherubims painted; and one inscription on brass with *Ora pro nobis,* &c.

it is more certain that his son Samuel Dowsing lived at that place. It is not improbable that the Iconoclast was at one period of his life domiciled at Eye, as Mr. Fitch, of Ipswich, possesses his admission as a copyhold tenant to the manor of Eye Priory. Dowsing is buried at Pulham, in the county of Norfolk. While upon this subject it will be no improper moment to observe, that if the county of Suffolk has been the residence, if not the birth-place, of the great destroyer of sepulchral brasses, the misfortune has been in some degree compensated by the active exertions of the late Sir John Cullum, bart. of Hardwicke, near Bury St. Edmunds, for the preservation of such as remained unreaved by the hands of the destructionist, whether armed by the authority of an official personage or not. About 1780, when Richard Gough was engaged in his noble work on the Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain, Sir J. Cullum, bart. assisted him greatly. Up to this period, brasses had been left neglected by antiquarians, but by the taste, intelligence, and activity of Sir J. Cullum, assisted by Craven Ord, esq. the Rev. William Cole, the Rev. Geo. Ashby of Barrow, and other antiquarians, nearly the whole of the brasses found in the Suffolk churches were examined by them and descriptions forwarded to Gough. Other parts of the kingdom were also searched by them for the same object. A large number of impressions taken by these gentlemen are yet in existence in the Print Room of the British Museum, to which establishment they were bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq. and deposited there in 1834, having been purchased at the death of Craven Ord in 1830, for £43. Most of these fac-similes have been taken by a far different process than the modern mode of heel-balling. Cullum and Ord took impressions from brasses by filling the lines with printer's ink, and then by the aid of pressure taking what was really a printed proof from them. When the impression failed, the outline was completed with a reed pen. The only objection to this process is, that the copy appears in reverse. The author of this volume examined this collection in November, 1846, and found them in a very neglected state. They had recently been brought from another part of the Museum, and it was intended by the intelligent keeper of the prints (Mr. Carpenter) to have them repaired and then committed to a meditated fresh department of the national depository—British antiquities. In Cole's MSS. (Brit Mus.) are several letters from Cullum on the subject of Brasses.

"*A Peter's*, was on the porch, the crown of thorns, the spunge and nails, and the Trinity in stone; and the rails were there, which I gave order to break in pieces.

"*Mary's* at the Key. I brake down six superstitious pictures.

"*Mary Elmes.* There was four iron crosses on the steeple, which they promised to take down that day, or the next.

"*Nicholas.* We brake six superstitious pictures, and took up two brass inscriptions of *Ora pro nobis;* and gave orders for another, *Cujus anima propitietur Deus;* and there was the crown of thorns.

"*Matthew's.* We brake down thirty-five superstitious pictures, three angels with stars on their breasts, and crosses.

"*Mary's* at the Tower. We took up six brass inscriptions with *Ora pro nobis,* and *Ora pro animabus,* and *Cujus animæ propitietur Deus,* and *Pray for the soul,* in English, and I gave order to take down five iron crosses and one of wood, on the steeple.

"*Margarett's.* January the 30th. There was twelve apostles in stone taken down, and between twenty and thirty superstitious pictures to be taken down, which a (Godly man) a Churchwarden promised to do.

"*Steven's.* There was a Popish inscription in brass, *Pray for the soul.*

"*Lawrence.* There was two Popish inscriptions, one with beads, and another *Ora pro nobis.*

"*Clement's.* They four days before had beaten up divers superstitious inscriptions.

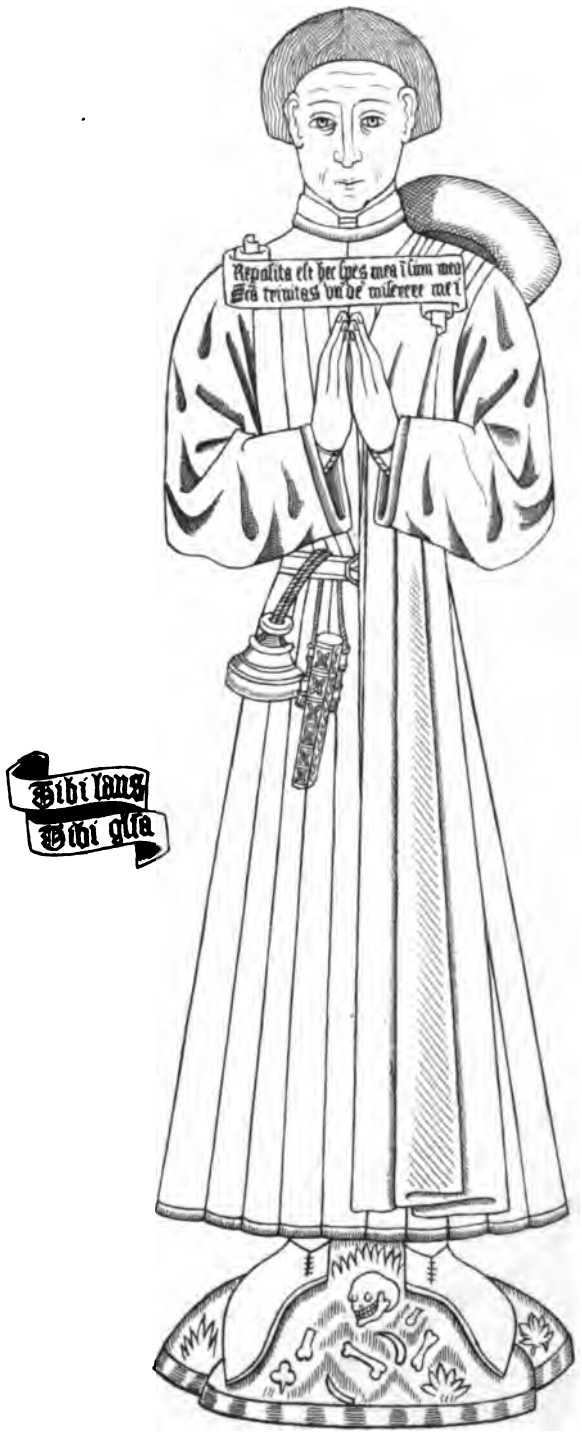
"*At Elms.* Nothing" [Probably St. Helen's, as St. Mary Elms is mentioned before.]

How long the Pownder Brass has occupied its present position upon the raised floor of the chancel

of St. Mary Key it is impossible to determine, as no notice of any change of position is recorded in the church books. To its situation is without doubt attributable the remarkable degree of preservation in which it at present remains. Little doubt exists that this fine brass is the workmanship of a foreign, probably a Flemish workman, and is attributable to the same artist who cut the fine brass of Andrew Evynger and family, in All Hallows, Barking, London. The date of these brasses are severally, Pownder 1525, Evynger 1536, and both furnish a variety of valuable heraldic illustrations. Each bear upon a shield their respective marks. Pownder carries on two shields the arms of Ipswich dexter, and the Merchant Adventures sinister; and Evynger bears the arms of the Merchant Adventurers and the Salter's Company. Some other parts of the designs of both disclose an identity of style and taste, and the touch and stroke of the graver are far from dissimilar in each example. Although upwards of a dozen specimens of Flemish brasses have been found, yet the Pownder and Evynger Brasses are the only two which partake of an identity of style. The Ipswich memorial carries in its shields the fragments of colouring, such as have been perfected in the illustration given in the volume.

The inscription on this fine memorial is as follows: "Here lieth buried Thomas Pownder Merchauns and som time balie of Ipswiche which departed in the yere M^{I}V^{C}XXV yeris and 7th day of Nouebyr. And Emma Pownder his wife which departed in the yere M^{I}V^{C}...." (The year is left blank for the insertion of the date of the death of this lady, but probably she died and was interred elsewhere.)

The Pownder Brass in its emblazonment bears a testimonial of its foreign parentage. The arms of



Drawn & Etched by Wat Hagreen.

...OF A NOTARY (SUPPOSED TO BE WILLIAM LONG)

IN THE CHURCH OF ST MARY TOWER, IPSWICH, DATE 1411.

Ipswich are party per pale gules and azure—on the dexter side a lion rampant gardant or—on the sinister three demihulls of ships joined to the impaled line of the last. In the shield on the Pownder Brass is only one demihull, and the coat is reversed, perhaps in order to turn the lion towards the centre of the subject, a license not unusually adopted in German and other continental heraldry.*

The Brass which next occupies attention among this description of memorial in Ipswich, is that of a notary, lying in the centre of the nave in the church of St. Mary Tower. No inscription marks the name of the person of whom it is a record, or the date of his sepulture, but on examination of the wills in the registry of this division of the Diocese, a copy of the last will and testament of William Long, notary, has been found dated 1501, which was probably the individual thus represented. But few brasses of this class exist, and none exhibiting more unequivocally the notarial implements of pen and ink case or "penner." Another specimen of a notarial brass lies in the south aisle of this church to Wymbull and his two wives. There is also a brass in the same church to Thomas Drayle, 1500, which occupies a place in the Bailiffs' aisle. There is also a brass in the south aisle for Alice, the wife of Thomas Baldry, 1506.

In St. Margarett's church are no brasses but a reaved stone exists, showing the effigy of a priest, with the scarce emblem of the cup and sacred wafer in his hand.

The brasses in the church of St. Clement's are neither numerous or of antiquity. On the floor of the

* Shaw's Dresses and Decorations. "Party per pale gulz and azure, in the second, three demy botes of the third —." Copy of Grant by Clarencieux, 1561.

nave is a stone reaved of its metal, showing a male and female figure with children below—on the chancel floor a stone on which is a brass to John Tye, merchant, his two wives, and fourteen children, date 1583, the man habited in a furred gown—and also on the chancel floor a brass to William Cocke, and his wife with six children shown, date 1607.

St. Mary Elms has only a reaved brass.

St. Nicholas has four brasses—of William Style and wife, civilian, of a late era—a male and female figure, late, inscription gone—a male figure, formerly with a female, but the latter gone and having no date, but of late style—the last is a mere inscription only, to the memory of Susanna Parker, date 1604.

St. Helen's contains no memorials of this character.

St. Lawrence contains no brasses with figures.

St. Stephen's contains more than one reaved stone, but no perfect brass.

St. Peter's contains one brass to John Knapp, with wife and children, date 1604.

St. Mary Stoke contains no brasses.

St. Mary Key contains the Pownder Brass previously described, several reaved stones, one imperfect brass, late, with a female figure, inscription gone; and a small brass in the wall above Toolie's monument.

Monuments for the dead to be found in the Ipswich churches, are of no great antiquity, and with the exception of the tomb of Toolie in the church of St. Mary at the Key, there is no ancient altar tomb.

Other monuments in the Ipswich churches deserving remark by their characteristics are chiefly those of the 17th century, affixed to walls, with panels and entablatures supported by Italian pilasters and pillars, the upper divisions containing kneeling figures before

faldstools, upon which lie open books, and beneath, their numerous children kneeling, some of them holding sculls. These are painted as in life. They also exhibit profuse heraldic bearings.

Such memorials of the dead frequently bear pompous epitaphs, and boastful genealogies. The alliances of family are set forth in some cases minutely, generally to some extent, and the heraldic quarterings of the deceased are fully emblazoned. Of these monuments in the Ipswich churches, none carry their characteristics to an extreme, but few are silent on the subject of the ancestors of those to whose memory they were erected, and by far the majority furnish stores for the accumulation of a fund of heraldic knowledge.

Many monuments of this description furnish much observation for the student in costume, and are the more valuable from being painted in the colours of the fabrics worn by the deceased. In the monument of Anthonie Penning in St. Matthew's chancel, are, besides the kneeling effigies of Penning and his wife, thirteen youthful figures, nine sons and four daughters. The female figures exhibit minutely the costume of the time in which they lived, even to the ornaments upon the sleeves and other parts of the dress. These sleeves are painted to represent gold and silver brocade, which is puffed and tied at the elbows with flowing ribbons.

Near this monument is another of the same character and age, erected to Richard Cocke, a portman, who died in 1629, shewing a strict attention to costume. Among six youthful figures upon the lower part of the monument is a male kneeling, but unlike his fellows, booted and spurred, denoting that the party represented held employment in the army.

W W

There is no reason to doubt that the larger effigies if not the smaller, were portraits of those they were designed to commemorate; and regarded in this light, the monuments of this age become peculiarly interesting. Richard Cocke for instance, of whose memorial we have just spoken, though filling his tomb upwards of two centuries, through the integrity of his effigy stands as bodily before the present time, as when he performed the duties of his office, and the "ancient medow" of Oldenholme was given to him and his fellows for the sustenance of their steeds. The gown which the sculptor has placed upon his shoulders, is the semblance of that in which he attended the Great Courts of the Corporation called together by the sound of the "trompe," and the beard and the moustache ornamenting his effigy, are of the proportionate length, curl, and colour he possessed while living.

Some of the effigies of this age partly recline. In the church of St. Mary at the Elms is a monument to William Acton, in the lower compartment of which is a female figure reclining. Her right hand supports her head. Her left hand holds a book. Under the right arm is a skull and hour glass. At the back of the upper compartment of this monument is a figure of death, preparing to strike—probably indicative that her end was sudden.

Although we have remarked that the epitaphs of this age are full of the virtues of the deceased, and exhibit much that cannot be said to savour of a modest spirit, yet it is impossible to deny that some of them contain touching sentiments, couched in language of a character emanating from a love of truth, and not exceeding the merits of the departed. An instance of this is found in the inscription on a tablet erected

to the Rev. Nicholas Stanton, who died October 12, 1649, inserted in the wall of the north aisle of St. Margarett's church.

In the chancel of St. Mary Tower, against the wall is a sepulchral memorial of a novel character, and perhaps unique. It is a tablet of wood, framed. Upon this is painted an inner frame or tablet, on which is the inscription. Beneath this is a view of the town of Ipswich, as seen from the Stoke side of the river. At the time of the erection of this monument, the spire of St. Mary Tower had not been destroyed by tempest, and is given in the monumental view, as also Seckford's house, in St. Matthew's, (within a few years the property of W. Rodwell, Esq. but now demolished) the old quay, most of the town, and part of the country.

The inscription on this monument is as strange as the pictorial representation, being a long eulogy on the goodness and charity of the deceased William Smart, 1600, ejaculated by a person who had heard of the death of this benefactor, and then utters apostrophies in praise of the defunct.*

Sufficient has been here observed to characterize the class of memorials to the dead to be found in the churches of this town. Particulars of a more descriptive nature will be combined with the notices of the various ecclesiastical structures in which they are placed.

The present church of ST. LAWRENCE is believed to have been commenced by John Bottold, who died, according to Weever, in 1431. Domesday Book however speaks of the church of St. Lawrence as being held by Turchill and Edric, in Ipswich, so that its original foundation is of considerable antiquity. St. Lawrence

* See illustration.

has a tower, nave, and chancel, but no aisles. The tower is curiously attached to the west end of the church, being half separated by an open passage which runs south and north into the church-yard. With the exception of the windows of the nave, St. Lawrence possesses but few architectural features of consequence, but these windows are numerous, lofty, and evidently formed for the purpose of containing stained glass. Built in the fifteenth century, the church is of the Perpendicular style of architecture, with a few traces of transition from the Decorated character in the head of the east window. The chancel is wide, and generally of good dimensions. The church has a south porch, which is not used for either ingress or egress. There are no brasses with effigies on the floor, though memorials of this kind formerly existed.

Over the west gallery is a large mural painting in oil of Christ disputing with the doctors in the Temple. It is of modern execution, being painted by the late Sir W. Ker Porter, in 1804, while quartered with his regiment in the town. The subject occupies nearly the entire western end of the church, and displays many good points of composition and colouring, for both of which this amateur artist was remarkable.

In 1514, Edmund Dandy or Daundy, founded a chantry in this church dedicated to St. Thomas, and obtained leave from Henry 8th to appoint a secular priest to offer at the altar in behalf of himself and relatives, among whom he included Thomas Wolsey, then Dean of Lincoln, and his parents Robert and Joan Wolsey then deceased. Daundy nominated as first priest James Crawford, to whom and his successors in the chantry he gave a house in St. Lawrence parish adjoining the Crown Inn, in King Street, for a

mansion, and lands in Sproughton, Stoke Hamlet, and Alnesbourne, for a maintenance. Commissary Tanner states, that in the Norwich books, this chantry is rated at £6 10*s.* adding, that in St. Lawrence church, was also a guild of St. Thomas, an altar erected to the same saint, and a window of St. Christopher.

In 1515, Edmund Daundy, still regarding the good state of his soul after death, bestowed upon the town of Ipswich certain lands in Holbrook, requiring the sum of 17*s.* 6*d.* to be paid on Port Latin day to every house of Friars in the town for the celebration of his obit. To the almshouse of our Lady of Grace, and to each almshouse founded by him, he gave an hundred of wood in addition to their usual quantity, that the poor resident within them may also pray for his soul.

Daundy and his family appear to have been strongly impressed with the religious feelings of the age. His piety and charity were conspicuous in Ipswich, and his second wife Margaret, is said to have become at his death, an abbess of a nunnery.

Daundy was buried within his chantry and a stone inlaid with his effigy in brass formerly existed in this church. It was most probably defaced by Dowsing, but some years since a portion, with the inscription, was placed in one of the windows of the chancel. It bore the following epitaph :—

"Here under lies buried the body of Edmund Dandy, some time Portman and Bailif. He was builder of y^e^ market cross, and of y^e^ alms houses in Lady Lane to every one of which he gave an hundred of wood against winter, and to the maintainnance thereof he gave certain lands in Holbrook, to y^e^ Bailifes of Ipswich their successors for ever. He dyed May 1515,

and had issue by Alice his wife, daughter of — Bacon, William Dandy of Cretingham in Suffolk, who married Agnes, daughter of Thomas Aluard, of Ipswich; Robert Dandy married Joyce daughter of Thomas Read of Beccles, in Suffolk; Joan Dandy and Agnes Dandy."

Thomasine Daundy appears to have died in 1543, by the following entry in the register under that date.

"Thomazine the daughter of Robert Dandie buried the 19th of November."

Robert Daundy who became a Portman of the town, died in 1558, as by register.

"Robert Dawndy, Portman, buried 11th April."

Robert the son of William Daundy appears to have been buried 11th August, 1563.

Thomas Aluard or Alverd seems to have been a relative of Wolsey, and was made by him the keeper of his wardrobe. On reference to a letter written by Alverd to Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's secretary, it might be concluded that both these individuals though constantly about their master and in his confidence, were little more than spies upon his conduct. Sir Henry Ellis* gives a fragment of a communication from Alverd to Cromwell, in which it is clear the former was acting as a spy. It is somewhat remarkable that upon the disgrace of Wolsey, the site of his intended college in Ipswich, with its appurtenance, and lands in various parishes, were granted to Alverd by the King. Alverd appears to have been a man of substance, having estates at Rendlesham and Staverton.

Upon the threshold of the vestry door was once another stone connected with the family of Daundy, bearing the following inscription :—

* Letters on History.

"Here lies y^e^ body of Margery daughter of William Gilberd, Esq. who was first married to John Daundy, gent. by whom she had issue one daughter Alice, late wife of George Royle, and after married to John Drury, Esq."

John Drury was buried 20th March, 1604, and Margery Drury was buried 24th March, 1618.

On the north door of the church appears an inscription carved in stone, which has been read as follows:—

"Orate pro animabus Will^mi^ Faden (Sabine?) et Joanne uxoris ejus."

The name of Sabine occurs among the burials A.D. 1570. The family of Sabine were large benefactors to the church of St. Mary Key in this town, one of the aisles of which was entirely built by them.

By the will of Joan Allen, dated 20th July, 1558, the sum of 6*s.* 8*d.* was left, payable to the reparation of the church. "And every year and yearly for evermore upon Christmas-day 6*s.* 8*d.* going out of the capital messuage and other two tenements, and two gardens, as my trust is in my executors to cause the learned Council of Ipswich to make."

A family named Walworth anciently lived in this parish, believed to have been descended from the William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, who stabbed Wat Tyler in Smithfield.

Clementia Walworth, widow, was buried here 1486. John Walworth, gent. 1488. Margaret wife of William Walworth, late of Ipswich, 1460.

The good deeds of Edmund Daundy to St. Lawrence parish and the town generally, must not however be passed over without more particular mention. His will and the deed in which he founded his chantry are still extant, and as exhibiting some peculiarities

of the age in which he lived, an abstract is here inserted.

"To all faithful children of Holy Church, to whos knowledge these present letters shall come. Edmund Dawndy, of the towne of Ippiswiche in the county of Suffolk, merchaunt, wisheth health, in the Lorde, everlasting and undoubted to be given evermore to these presents. Be it known to you all that I the forsaid Edmund fyrst license and autoritie of the most Christian Prince and Lord Henry VIII, kynge of England and of Fraunce and Lorde of Ireland graciously in that behalfe had, and of all other where interest obtayned for a p'petual Chauntry in the church of Saint Laurens Martyr of Ippiswiche aforesaid, in the county of Suff. of the dioces of Norwyche to be made and founded. To the makinge foundation, creation, erectynge, and establyment of one p'petuall chauntry for a p'petual secular pryst at the awlter of Saint Thomas martyr in the parishe church of Saint Laurens in Ippswiche aforesaid, accordinge to the strength and effecte of the said graunte after this manner. I do p'cede, fyrst calling for the grace of the Holy Gost, to the glory, prayse and honner of Allmyghty God, the gloryouse and imaculate Virgin Mary the moother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and St. Laurence, St. Thomas Martyr, and all saintes. And allso with our most redoubted Kynges and all other whose interest, graunte, and assent ayded of nowe. I doe make, founde, erecte, and stablyshe a p'petuall chauntry for a p'petuall secular pryst of the awlter of Saint Thomas Martyr in the church aforesaid, for prosperous state of our said soverain Lord the Kynge, his dere beloved wyfe Queen Katherin, and also for me the said Edmund Daundy, Thomas Wulcy, clarke, Deane of the Cathedrall churche of Lincolne. And of one

William Daundy my son, for the tyme of our lyfe, and for the sowles of the said kinge and quene, and the sowles of me the forsaid Edmund Daundy, Thomas Wulcy, and William Daundy after our decease, and allso for the sowles of Anne lately the wyfe of me the said Edmund Daundy, Robert Wulcy and Jone his wife, father and mother of the said Thomas Wulcy," &c.

Daundy having spoken of his benefactors, then proceeds to settle the presentation, viz. that the Wardens of the parish upon any avoydance of the chauntry should give notice to the Bailiffs, and these officials should name six men "most mete and app^{t} to the purpose to the intent that they, with the Wardens within xiiij days next after the said chauntry happeneth to be voyde.... shall name to the Pryor of the Holy Trinity of Ippiswyche, a mete, abyll and convenient pryst secular for the chauntry aforesaid." This "pryst" is then to be presented by the Prior, who within twelve days after, by letters sealed with his seal or signet, shall present him to the Ordinary for admittance. Before however he is admitted, he is required to take a "bodily othe" that he will faithfully fulfil and keep the statutes of the foundation.

Then follow clauses that he may induct himself in case the parish priest refused to induct him—that the priest of the chauntry shall perform the duties of his office personally, and not absent himself for more than twenty days together, except from infirmity—neither take benefice, office, stipend, trental, nor yearly service or any lands or tenements under pain of deprivation, but lands and tenements to the yearly value of ix$^{li.}$ vi$^{s.}$ viii$^{d.}$, granted by the founder.

He is then commanded to abstain from all unlawful games and sports.

The duties of the priest were to be these:—"Moreover I will, ordayne, institute and establysh, that the said pryst shall say twyce in the week for ever, dirige and comenda̅cons, and ons in the weke mass of requiem, with the collect *Im̅ps sempiter deus qui vivor Dn̅a̅ris simul et mortuorum*, &c. with his..... and post communion thereto pertayninge, and that eche daye the same pryst synging his mas and goeing to the alltars ende before he washeth his handes at the lavatory shall say this psallme *De profundis*, with the collect *Fidelium*, &c.; at the end whereof he shall saye—The sowle of Edmund Daundy founder of this chauntry, and the sowles of his parents, kynsfolkes and benefactours, and all cristian sowles rest in peace and quietness. Amen."

Daundy then proceeds to declare:—"Item I will, the pryst for the tyme being be present in the quere of the parish church of St. Laurens having on his surplice at mattyns, p'cessions, masse and evensonge syngyng the Psalmodies with the other prysts and clarks every Sunday, dobyll-feasts and other convenint tymes in augmenting of the divine services, except any lawful case do let him. And also I wyll &c. that the vestments, books, challyces and other ornaments of the aulter by me or any other patron given or hereafter to be given, well and honestly to be used and after mass donn, the said vestments to fold and to lay them up into a chest thereunto deputed, &c. the said chest to shut and fast to lock, wherein if any of the said prysts be found negligent, he shall be bound to make satisfaction under payne of depryvation."

The priest was not allowed to take any preferment without forfeiting his office of the chauntry.

He was also to be deprived if he attempted to alienate the goods of the chauntry, or committed felony or murder.

"And also I will, &c. that if the said pryst or his successors, of the crime of incontinency or any other grievous vice or notable dishonesty of his body, be convicted as aforesaid, and will not amend (which God forbid) but return again unto the forsaid crymes, &c. after monition given, that the said pryst so convicted, &c. to be expelled, nor remedy of expellation against the premises to be of value, and another pryst &c. to be presented."

The priest to repair all houses, edifices, &c.

"Also I will that the said pryst every yere herefutor to come upon the yere-day and anniversary of me the said Edmund, specially to kepe upon suche of the month as it shall happen me to die .... with the whole service ordained for the dead for ever. Item I will that on the same yere-day the said pryst shall deliver and distribute in manner following:—

"To the parish pryst of St. Laurens ministering about the said anniversary xii*d.*

"And to the xij prysts masses and other divine services there doing vj*s.*

"To the parishe clarke of the said church xii*d.* and to the other vj clarkes there syngyng and servyng God xij*d.* equally among them.

"To xij children ther syngyng and serving God xij*d.*

"To the sexton and ryngyne of the bells vj*d.*

"To xij poore indigent persons of the said parish to pray for my sowle and the sowles abovesaid ij*s.*

"And to the two bailiffs of Ippeswich xiij*s.* & iiij*d.* that is to say to every one of them to offer at the said anniversary xij*d.* and to controwle the said anniversary vj*s.* viij*d.*

"Moreover I will, &c. that the name of our sovereign Lord the Kyng, the Queene, the name of the said

Edmund and the names of the forsaid Thomas Wulcy and William Daundy among the quick, during our lives, and also the name of Ann, Robert and Jone among the dead on a table shall be written, and the same tabyl by the said pryst ordained openly upon the awlter of St. Thomas Martyr, &c. to be sett to the intent that every day the said pryst in his mass shall pray for the p'sperity of our said sovereign Lord the Kyng and the said Edmund the founder, &c. &c."

Daundy then appoints James Crawford to be the first pryst, for the term of his natural life.

He assigns a mansion or dwelling for his use.—"All that my messuage of late now builded, and the garden thereunto annexed, with a certaine lane and all its appurtenances scituate in the parish of St. Laurens aforsaid—y^{t} is to say between the tenement of the said Edmund Daundy in part, and the tenement called the Crown in part, on the north part, and the cottage of Thomas Baldry now occupied for a horse stabull in part, and the tenement of Robert Goodwyn in part, and the tenement of Henry Stannard in part, on the south part, whoes easte head abutteth upon the tenement of Thomas Baron Smyth, and the west heade abutteth upon the Kynges highe strete, and also for the fyndinge of the said James and his successors to have and to hold all my lands and tenements with their appurtenances in Sprowton and Stoke next Ippiswiche, that is to say :—"

Then follows an enumeration of the several pieces of land with their abuttals and two messuages called Cooks and .... amounting to above 100 acres. Among the abuttals, the most remarkable are "Great Gogoney and Littel Gogoney"—"15 acres, the south head abutting on the common way and a small medow of the chauntry in part, and upon a medow pertaining to the parson of the church of Coldewell in part."

The founder then concludes:—"And whereas I the forsaid Edmund at this my firste foundation have delyvered to the said James now pryst of the sayd chauntry, a masse book, two complete vestyments and a book called a coucher for massys and other divine service to be sayd by the sayd James and his successours, for the confirmation whereof and to his successor in competent manner for to leve and to deliver the said James hath found to us and our executors sufficient surety and taken thereupon a bodily othe. And in case it should chance the sayd books and vestyments and other ornaments through his fault or negligence to be alienate, or fall into decaye, and that for reparation, mayntenance and bettering of the said mansion and dwellinghouse, every pryst of the forsaid chauntry shall lay up and leve yerely iiij*s.* and iiij*d.* starlyng of the said lands and tenements in a box locked with two keyes thereunto ordayned, whereof the one keye to remayn with the forsaid pryst and the other with the wardens of St. Laurens. I will also that every pryst of the said chauntry shall leve to his successor xl*s.* lawful money of Ingland, for the expenses, costs and charges of the said successors to be don and sustayned about his p'sentation, admysion, institution and induction, to the which effect, I the said Edmund hath delivered unto the said James Crawford xl*s.* upon his sufficient surety for that intent made with me, willing and stablyshing that every pryst shall fynde likewise sureties unto the wardens of St. Laurens."

"But because it is not in man but in God to forsee and p'vide all things, and often tymes it fortuneth that that w^h^ in the begynning was thought to be p'fytable afterwards is found not to be so, therefore I will and reserve to me the said Edmund Daundy only the

liberty and power to enterprete, augment, dymynish and to chaunge, reforme and to add to the same, and correcte and amende all and singular ordynaunces and statutes made by me, also other ordynaunces, and to be made, created and stablyshed by the tenor of these presents. In witness and testimony of all and singular the premisses unto this my present ordynaunce indented, the one part remayneth with me the said Edmund, the other part with the pryst forsaid, and the third part, &c. &c."

This deed is dated the last day of November "in the syxt year of our sovarayne Lorde Kynge Hennery the Eight after the Conquest, and in the yere of our Lord God 1514."

Previously to the period when the King's Visitors made their appearance, the officials of the parish had performed a portion of their injunctions, although not all; for not only were the fine windows filled with painted glass, but the walls were covered with allegorical pictures of which the ecclesiastics of the period made much account. It is useless now to enquire into the fate of the glass removed by the zeal of those who were anxious to do the bidding of the King's majesty, or to mourn over its loss. Probably, though the document recording the re-glazing of the church does not mention the fact, the effigies of sainted personages and other designs filling the windows were ruthlessly battered to pieces, and as is sometimes the case, the fragments were probably gathered together and buried in the churchyard.* The annexed document discloses some curious particulars connected with the windows and the building.

* The stained glass from the windows of one of the Sudbury Churches, was thus buried and found accidentally not many years since.

"An°. D'n 1547. *Seynt Lawrens P'ishe in Ippswiche.* Ffor as moche as my lorde bysshope of Norwich hathe deligated onto us that the kyng's majesties plesure and commandment ys that we shuld make them styfycathes unto hym of the sale of all suche ornaments, plate, jewells, and bells as we have solde or alienated out of the p'ishe churche. And to what use the money thereof ys imployed onto whiche precept all trewe and faythfull subjetts ar most boundyn to obs've and fulfill and obey.

Ples it you to understand that befor the Kynges vicitors was here we had soll'd p'te off our plate wiche was p'seynted onto them, and synce they war here we soll'd mor, the value thereof and weight of unc ys this:—

A cros, a payer of censors, and a shippe, ij pair of chalis w^t^ the patents (patens) and other small thynge, the hole weyght ten score and seven unc at iiij^li.^ and viij the unc, the sum of money received for the same ..... xvliij^li.^ vj^s.^

Bells we have sold none.

Ornaments, we have sold a cope and a shryne or sepultrye of tymber and gylte w^t^ ye tabernacle of ye same for ... .ix^li.^

Item we have sold ffower hundreythe weight of latyn and bras at xviij^s.^ the hundreythe s'm ..... iij^li.^ xij^s.^

Item we have sold every banner clothes and other olde steyned cloths for .... xxviij^s.^

S'm total..... lxij^li.^ v^s.^

Item our whyght lynen clothes and others that dyd hang before the candelbeame and other Immages we have gyvyn to the pore.

Also we do sertify that for the bestowynge of the money above saide we have ffynyshed and fulfylled the place in our churche wher the Image did stond, and cast whyted and paved our churche whiche hathe cost us in lyme and sond and masons..... lv^s.^ viij^d.^

Item we have fynyshed and writyn the walls of the sayde churche wythe texts of the Scrypture and wiche cost us to the paynt ..... liij^s.^ iiij^d.^

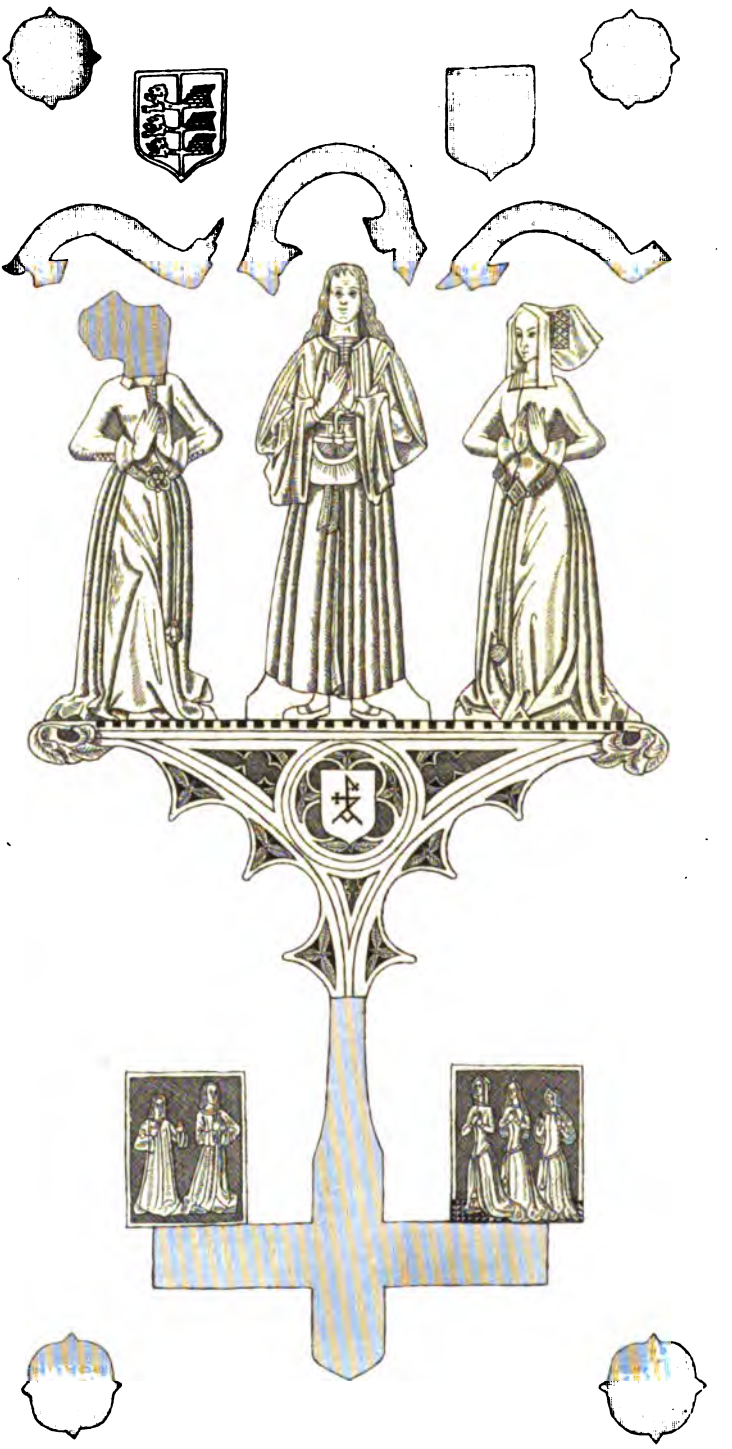
Item we have in our churche and chancell ix glas wyndows of fayned storyse contrary to the king's majesties injouncions whiche we have bargayned for to be glaced w^t^ whyght glas ffor the wiche we have payd and must paye for the said glas...xij^li.^

Item we have began to lede our churche whiche hathe cost us ..... xxij^{li}
The rest hathe great nede of ledying for y^{t} reynythe in."

To these items is added, that in the year 1529, one Wm. Stysted, merchant, gave and bequeathed certain lands for the payment of twelve pounds to the priest, clerk and sexton, putting "hys trust in Lawrence his son having no more sons but hym" to continue the payment. Lawrence Stysted followed his father's bounty for twenty years and then refused to pay further. The conclusion of this business appears to have been that when the arrears had continued for two years, the parish paid one half and the remainder was taken out of the value of the church plate.

The list of Curates for this church is imperfect. The following, however, have been collected—

George Stewart	1524
Robert Harding	1529
——Perne or Peice	1579
Thomas Garthwaite	1617
John Fenton	1621
Thomas Warren	1633
Simon Pettiwade	1635
Edmund Boldero	1637
Nathaniel Smart	1655
Samuel Golty	1662
Samuel Hudson	
—— Roberts	
Roger Young	1676
George Raymond	1682
W. Matthews	1725
Robert Beaumont	1729
Richard Canning	1734
Richard Brome	1775
Thomas Lee	1790
James Ford	1808
John Cobbold Aldrich	1830



Drawn & Etched by Walter Hagreen.

DRAYLE'S BRASS, TUDOR CHURCH, IPSWICH.

A discrepancy appears in the dates of some of the appointments. In the list inserted in the church register the date of the appointment of the Rev. R. Canning is 1734, while on the books of the Registrar of the Diocese it stands as 1760.

St. Lawrence does not contain any modern monuments of interest, though many of the chief inhabitants of the town are buried here. Over the entrance to the vault of the Sparrowe family is the quaint description, *Nidus Passerum.*

The Register of Burials commences in 1539, May 26th, and the early entries are those of the Manns, Coppings, Sparrowes, Daundys, Blosses, and other individuals of local eminence in their day.* There are also a few entries of persons who died of the Sweating Sickness and the Plague. The first malady appears to have prevailed in the town in July and August 1551, and the Plague in 1602 and 1603.†

ST. MARY TOWER is one of the most ancient churches in Ipswich, being mentioned as existing in the time of Edward the Confessor. At the foundation of Trinity Priory, the original church was annexed to that religious house.

The name of this building is derived from its proximity to a tower on the ancient walls of the town, which ran about fifty yards to the north of the building, and nearly in a direction east and west.

* 1542. "Thomas the sonne of Thomas Punder, buried the 12th February." This is a relative of Thomas Pounder, to whom the magnificent brass in St. Mary Key is laid down.

† 1602. "Margarett the wyfe of Nicholas Stampe, alive in the markett on Friday ye 7th of Maye which in two houres after dead—ye same day buried. 1603. Alexsander Bowham was buried the 17th of August, about the xj of the clok on the night, out of the Fryers, and dyed of the Plag."

The church was styled in Domesday "Sc Maria ad Turrim."

In 1661, St. Mary Tower, which had been surmounted by a spire, suffered considerably by a tempest. This spire was blown down on the 18th of February of that year, doing considerable damage, as may be found recorded in the books of the Churchwardens. The building as it at present stands has a tower, with a porch on the south side, a nave with clere story, two aisles, the north being a short one, and a vestry at the north side of the chancel. The interior is wide and lofty. The roof of the nave has probably displayed some good woodwork, but is now plain and unornamental. The roof of the chancel is coved, and painted to represent the firmament, on which is delineated an ornamental cross. The east window is a good example of the Perpendicular style, but the lower portion is hidden by an altar piece of a late and incongruous character.

This church has within a few years undergone considerable reparation, in the course of which the excellent example of a Parclose screen dividing the east end of the nave from the south aisle was discovered. Previously a ponderous gallery stood on the spot, blocking up the upper part of the aisle and spoiling the fine open proportions of the building. Above the south door-way, on the exterior, is a large dial, the face of which displays the twelve signs of the zodiac and other designs, with an inscription of "The greater light to rule the day."

At the east end of the north aisle is the Corporation seat, and until lately the Bailiffs' seat. It is exalted above all others, and surmounted by a carved entablature, supported by twisted pillars. Here resorted, when Corporate honours ranked higher in the scale of worldly dignities than they do at present

the Bailiffs and Portmen of the town; and not only did they attend this, which they styled their own especial church, but they appointed a Corporate Lecturer, whose duty it was to preach to them. Shortly after the working of the Municipal Act had brought dissenters into the Council, the custom of attending church as a Corporate body became more honoured in the breach than the observance, and the office of Lecturer was abolished. The last clergyman holding this appointment was the Rev. William Howarth, who when removed from the duties of Lectureship enjoyed a pension or allowance from the Municipal Council until his death in 1848.

In 1437, John Pryour, of Ipswich, left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the high altar of St. Mary Tower, and 20*s.* to the repair of this church.

In 1437, Richard Disse left to the high altar as a perpetual memorial "una pelium argenti cum dualis ampull argenteis," value 6*s.* 8*d.* also for a priest to pray for his soul nine marks.

1444, John Ladysman demised 10*s.* to the high altar, and 10*s.* to the Chaplain of the church to pray for his soul.

In 1446, Margaret Debenham left 10*s.* to the high altar, and to the same church, two pieces of tapestry-work and two testerys to the same.

In 1446, John Peryman left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the high altar, for a pair of organs for the use of the church 20*s.* and for the use of the altar a coverlid and a towell.

In 1449, Stephen Benton left 13*s.* 4*d.* to the reparation of the chancel, a sum for the new vestry, and £10 for the chancel "if begun during his life time."*

* *Qy.* Probably for rebuilding, as a sum of 13*s.* 4*d.* was left by the same person for reparation.

In 1450, Thomas Belvedere to the building of St. Mary Tower.*

In 1452, John Algoor left 12*d.* to the high altar, and 2*s.* to the common light at Easter.

In 1458, Margaret Cave left to the high altar 40*d.* to the parish clerk 12*d.* to the reparation of St. Mary Tower, 5 marks sterling, to the Guild of the Holy Trinity in the same church 10*s.* and payment for a Chaplain to pray for one year for her soul and for the souls of Richard Disse (previously her husband) Robert and Catherine, and the souls of her parents and those she is bound to pray for.

In the same year Thomas Kempe left to the reparation of the church 8 marks, and to the chapel in the said church 6*s.* 8*d.*

In 1472, Robert Smyth willed that he should be buried in the church of St. Mary Tower, before the great crucifix, leaving 6*s.* 8*d.* to the high altar, to the Chaplain 3*s.* 4*d.* and to the building of the new candlebeam 40*d.*

In 1501, William Long, Notary, willed that he should be buried in this church "where God pleases," with several small bequests to the building.†

In 1515, Clementia Walworth left 6*s.* 8*d.* to be prayed for by the curate, and ordered a trental of masses to be done at her funeral, and another to be sung daily within the church by an honest priest. To William Stevenson a gilt cup and cover were left with 13*s.* 4*d.* in money, but if the said William did not come home, this was to be sold and with the money to find an honest priest to sing for all Christian souls. To the mending of the bells 3*s.* 4*d.* And to the said church a piece of silver to make a jewel for the high

* Probably the rebuilding of the chancel.

† William Long lies under a fair brass in the nave.

altar, which jewel "Mr. Fralyngham hath in his keeping."

John West in 1529 orders his body to be buried in St. Mary Tower churchyard "before Our Lady of the Tower in the same church."

The foregoing entries of legacies to the church are taken from the Will Books, in which may be found numerous notices affording information relative to all the ecclesiastical structures of the town.

The Commissioners appointed for Ipswich, in the reign of Edward VI, for the Survey of all church goods, plate, and jewels, were Sir Nicholas Hare, knt. Sir Henry Doyle, knt. the Bailiffs of the town,* Lionel Talmache, Edmond Grymestone, and William Forster. They returned the following account of plate and goods as belonging to this church.

I'mps. One cross of sylv[r] and gylt waying v.xv oz. & half
Item. A peyer of candylstykes of sylv[r] pcl gylte weying..... lix oz.
„ One peyer of sylv[r] sensers, with two pannys of iron on the same waying xlv oz.
„ One peyer of challes all sylv[r] waying xix oz. & half
„ One peyer of challes of sylv[r] and pcl gylte..... xvj oz.
„ viij copes of clothe of golde of velvett baudkyn
„ j cope of blue velvett
„ viij copes of whyte damaske
„ vij copes of russet velvett
„ One vestyment with the tunicles of clothe of golde and velvett baudkyn
„ j vestyment of black velvett
„ j vestyment of blue velvett with the tunycles
„ j vestyment of whight damaske
„ j vestyment of russett velvett
„ j vestyment of black velvett branded lyke damaske
„ Bells in the stepyll v
„ Sanctus bell j

* The Bailiffs were John Holland and Matthew Goodwyn.

Leyd to gage by the sayd Churchwardens the sayd crosse of sylver and gylte unto Mathew Butteler of the sayd py'sse for the sum of xviij$^{li.}$ whiche ys leyd out in reparacions done in and uppon the seyd churche in leadying, glasyng, pavyng, and other necessary reparacions don in the ij^{d} & iijrd and forthe years of the reigne of o^{r} sov'ayne lorde now ys Kyng Edwarde the Syxte. And of the whiche xviij$^{li.}$ the seyd Churchwardens and inhabytants within the s^{d} py'sse do humbly require they maye be allowed.

Some of the allowance demanded xviij$^{li.}$

The office of Town Preacher or Lecturer, at this church, as connected with the Corporate body, is of ancient origin. It is not improbable that the office arose out of that of Guild priest.

Bacon says, 5th Edward VI, "Ordered that fower sermons yerely shall be made by the common preacher of this towne at the Tower Church, upon fower dayes yerely viz. Easter Monday, Ascencion-day, Whit Sonday in the afternoon, and Michaelmas-day in the forenoon, to which sermons the Bayliffes, Portmen, and ye Twenty-four shall resort in their liveries, the penalty of forfaiture of 3*s.* 4*d.* for the Portmen, and 20*d.* for eche of the Twenty-four and of the Wardens for every default without special causes showen."

2nd Elizabeth. A preacher shall be provided for this town, and he shall have for his salary 20$^{li.}$ yerely.

Roger Kelk and — Makebray are elected preachers and ministers of this town for one whole year next ensuing, at such convenient stipend as shall be agreed uppon.

Roger Kelk does not seem to have given satisfaction, for it appears in the 4th of Elizabeth the Corporation who appointed him are requested to deliver him from a painful dilemma. Friday, 9th July. "Whereas Mr. Kelk before this time hath been

unjustly accused to be a liar and to be a preacher of noe trewe doctrine. The said Mr. Kelk hath been called to answer the said accusation, and for that there is noe matter proved against him; therefore it is awarded and ordered by this court that the said Mr. Kelk shall be remitted quite cleer of the said accusation, and every part and parcell thereof."

Mr. Kelk, however, does not prove acceptable to the community. His stipend in the 8th of Elizabeth stated as 40 marks is collected with difficulty. In the 9th of Elizabeth, this order appears—"Wm. Barber refusing to contribute to Mr. Kelk's maintenance was distrained for his proportion assessed, viz.—four yards and a halfe of broad clothe vallewed at 2*s.* 0¾*d.* per yard, by two prizers."

Mr. Kelk became tired of his "painsful" charge, but being a man of ability, he became chosen as one of the heads of the neighbouring university, and the Great Court Books on the 6th of December, 14th Elizabeth, contain this entry—"Whereas Mr. Kelk the ordinary preacher of this town is elected Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge; it is ordered that Mr. Keyes by his consent shall serve in the place for two quarters and the rest of the yere. The service shall be done by that said Mr. Keyes or by such sufficient person as Mr. Kelk shall depute thereunto, or by Mr. Kelk himself, at such time as he may be spared."

16th Elizabeth. Mr. Keyes shall have £6 : 13 : 4 yearly stipend added to his stipend of £6 : 13 : 4 for the Hospital, on condition of his pains of preaching in this town.

17th Elizabeth, March 21. Mr. Keyes shall continue ordinary preacher of this town as hitherto until March next, and shall have £3 : 6 : 8 half yearly for his wages.

Offer made to Dr. Kelk to continue ordinary preacher of the town, and to be resident and preach every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, and to visit the sick and comfort distressed persons, and soe doing shall have £40 yearly, otherwise another sufficient man shall be provided after Dr. Kelk shall be lawfully discharged.

In the following year Dr. Kelk dies, the fact of his decease being thus recorded:—God having taken to himself Dr. Kelk, and the town now destitute of a preacher in his place, it is agreed that a learned and sufficient man should be elected by the consent of the Bishop and some other well learned divine; and that such person shall have a settled stipend of 100 marks. The Bayliffs shall first treat with the inhabitants about their voluntary contributions, and such as refuse according to their ability shall be by the Bayliffs and others assessed at quarterly payments of such sums as are mete, and if they refuse to pay they shall be committed to prison until payment is made.

In the 18th of the same year, Dr. Norton was appointed preacher from the day of the Annunciation, and to have a salary of £50. The whole duty of the office was not however to be solely performed by him, as apportioning Dr. Norton two weeks service, they elect Mr. Webb, the curate of the Tower Church, to officiate on the third week at a total salary of £33 6*s.* 8*d.*—twenty marks to be paid by the parish.

On the 6th of April, 24th Elizabeth, Mr. Pemberton was elected second preacher* of this town at the Great Court, held on the 6th of November, his wages to be £10 quarterly.

25th Elizabeth. Whereas Dr. Norton was by particular persons agreed with on behalfe of the

* The tablet in the church makes it appear he was full preacher.

town, to be common preacher there and his salary to be £73 6*s.* 8*d.* quarterly paid by equal portions, the sum to be levied by collections of benevolence of the inhabitants. And since a second preacher hath been elected named Mr. Pemberton, and that the £10 quarterly paid him, should be out of the treasury of this town, and divers persons do withdraw their benevolence as to the first salary—It is ordered that the said £10 a quarter should be paid out of the treasury equally to the said Dr. Norton and Mr. Pemberton, and that out of the collection, £20 yearly should be paid to Mr. Pemberton by equal portions quarterly, and the rest should be given to the doctor. And it is referred to the Bayliffs and such of the Twelve and Twenty-four and the commonalty as they shall think meet to call to them, to consider the books of the collection and estates of them that do contribute or do withdraw, or have not yet allowed any contribution, and to confer with such and bring in the collection to the sum promised, or otherwise if it cannot be raised that they may confer with the said two preachers, as touching their continuance at less charge, and thereof shall certify at the next court. When the Assembly meet the rate for the preacher's wages shall be certified and the collection for the same to be levied at the discretion of the Bayliffs. Dr. Norton is appointed to continue preacher.

In the 27th of Elizabeth, certain libels were circulated in the town prejudicial to the characters of the Bayliffs, and the town preacher—the libeller was discovered to be a person named Eden Gooding.

In the same year Dr. Norton's stipend falls into arrear by persons refusing to contribute. The amount is therefore ordered to be paid out of the treasury.

It is evident that Dr. Norton was opposed in the town by a very large party, as about March in the same year, the following curious entry is made:—

It appearing that a difference was between Dr. Norton and Mr. Negus,* preachers in this town, which spread in the Great Court into parties and some foul words were spoken, whereupon orders were made, yet in the (confusion) of the Court all these things were dashed out, and an order made that a Committee should confer with both the said ministers and conclude for the departure or continuance of them or either of them.

The proceedings end in the defeat and departure of Dr. Norton, "who hath a benefice at Aldborough." His stipend which cannot be collected is promised to be paid him out of the treasury, and Mr. Pemberton takes his place.

The Rev. Robert Wright is elected preacher at a stipend of £50—£30 of which is to be paid out of the treasury and £20 collected.

By the records of a Great Court held after the dismissal of Dr. Norton, we become informed of the cause of the disagreement between him and the town, a testimonial being granted him to the effect —that his discharge was given to satisfy scruples concerning non-residency, but that his life was blameless, his doctrine orthodox, his family well governed, and that he was personally diligent and industrious.

Mr. Wright did not long continue preacher, for on the 16th of April, 32nd of Elizabeth, he is called Mr. Wright late preacher. It appears he refused to

* Mr. Negus is called minister, perhaps he was second minister and under Dr. Norton. His name does not appear in the list of incumbents of the town.

accept his appointment only under the town seal, and the town records state, "Henceforth there shall not be granted to any preacher above £40, out of the treasury of the town."

In the 32nd of Elizabeth, Mr Harrison is elected preacher.*

In the 34th of Elizabeth, the Rev. John Burgess is appointed, and the sermon on Wednesday and Friday, in the winter time is to end at 11 o'clock.

44th of Elizabeth, Dr. Burgess is made town preacher for life "after ten years trial," and his fee to be an hundred marks.

In 1602, the Rev. Dr. Reeves is retained at a salary of £100.

2 James. Mr. John Askew, B.D. is elected common preacher for life, with a salary of 100 marks.

In the following year on All Saints' day a man of considerable eminence was elected as preacher, Mr. Samuel Ward.† The Corporation appear to

* The church tablet of preachers does not mention him.

† Mr. Ward was born at Haverhill in 1577, and buried in St. Mary Tower, March 8, 1639. He was a man of considerable talent and eminence, but his productions are overlaid with strange conceits, and as a consequence full of odd and startling expressions. This, however, was the fault of his time more perhaps than the individual, though it appears evident Mr. Ward did not curb propensities engendered by the age, but rather followed them with devotedness and enlarged upon them. His chief sermons and addresses have been published both separately and collectively—the last in a thick octavo, under the title of "A Collection of such Sermons and Treatises as have been written and published by Samuel Ward, Bachelor in Divinity, and preacher of Ipswich, are here gathered into one volume. London, printed for John Grismond, and are to bee sold in Ivy Lane at the signe of the Gunne, 1636."

The short titles of the several Sermons and Treatises are—Christ All in All. The Life of Faith. The Life of Faith in Death. A Coale from the Altar. Balme from Gilead to recover Conscience. Iethro's Justice of Peace. A Peace-offering to God. Woe to Drunkards.

have treated him with great liberality, appointing an hundred marks as his stipend, and also allow-

The Happinesse of Practise. Of these, two bear curious title pages, namely the first, Christ All in All, and Woe to Drunkards. The prefix to Christ All in All is difficult of description. It chiefly consists of a number of circles, in which appear the names of the prophets, symbols, &c. Upon another page are the representations of two ancient beacons, and between them these lines:—

Watch, WARD, and keep thy garments tight,
For I come thief-like at midnight.
All-seeing, never-slumbering Lord;
Be thou my *Watch*, I'le be thy WARD.

The title page of "Woe to Drunkards," is symbolical of old and new times. In the upper division is an open book between, on one side a leg in a stirrup, and on the other a mailed hand and arm grasping a spear. The motto—"Thus of old," stands above. Below are seen a pack of cards and dice between a leg dressed for a dance, and a hand ruffled, holding a glass and tobacco pipe. The motto—"Thus now." Under this appears

O MANERS
O TYMES.

"A Coale from the Altar to Kindle the Holy Fire of Zeale," was preached at a General Visitation at Ipswich. "Balme from Gilead," was preached at Paul's Cross, October 10, 1616. "A Peace-offering to God for the Blessings wee enjoy under his Majesties Reigne: with a Thanksgiving for the Princes safe Returne, on Sunday, the 5th of October, 1623. In a Sermon preached at Manitree in Essex, on Thursday, the 9th of October next after his Highnesses happy arrivall." His Highness was Charles I, who had returned from Spain without the Infanta. His other sermons have nothing remarkable about them, but their language and zealous spirit.

Mr. Ward had strong objections to the publication of his own works, though he appears to have felt pleasure when his lucubrations had been placed before the public by others. Several of his Sermons were printed through the instrumentality of his brother, Mr. Nathaniel Ward, like himself a clergyman, and obtained very extensive circulation.

Two portraits only of Mr. Samuel Ward are known—one in oils belongs to Mr. Raw, of Washbrook, the other, a delicate drawing

ing him £6 13*s.* 4*d.* quarterly, in addition, for house rent.

The municipal authorities, possibly, because of obtaining so able a divine, declare very minutely the terms of Mr. Ward's engagement. In his sickness or absence he is to provide for the supply of a minister at the usual place three times a week, "as usual hath been." "He shall not be absent out of town above forty days in one year without leave, and if he shall take a pastoral charge, his retainer by the Corporation is to be void. The pension granted is not to be charged on the Foundation or Hospital lands."

In the 7th of James, the Corporation purchased a house for the preacher, or rather for Mr. Ward. This house is bought by the town contributing £120, and the rest of the purchase money is made up by free contributions, on the understanding that when Mr. Ward ceases to be preacher, the building is to be re-sold and the various sums collected returned to those who contributed, as well as the money advanced by the Corporation.

In the 8th of James, the Corporation increased the salary of Mr. Ward to £90, per annum "on account of the charges he is at by abiding here."

In the 14th James, "Mr. Samuel Ward's pencion encreased from £90, to £100, yerely."

in water-colours, in excellent preservation, formerly belonging to the author, and now in the extensive collection of local portraits the property of Mr. W. S. Fitch, of Ipswich.

The notice of the publications of Samuel Ward in Bib. Brit. is full of imperfections.

A Rev. John Ward also lived in Ipswich. He appears to have had, 19th Charles, a gratuity from the town of £20, for giving a Lecture at St. Clement's church in the previous year. Two Sermons written by him were published, Lond. 1645, 4to. on Psalm lxiij, 1, and Duet. xxxiij, 16.

The preaching of this divine, being of too free and puritanic a character, did not long escape the notice of the tale-bearers of the Court, and after a short period spent in negotiation, Mr. Ward was restrained from officiating in his office. In 1623, August 6th, a record appears in the town books to the effect that "A letter from the King to inhibit Mr. Warde from preaching the lecture is referred to the Council of the town."

But little more is found relative to Mr. Ward until the year previous to his death, when in 1638, in the month of April, he purchased the house provided for him by the town for the sum of £140, repaying the contributors also the sums contributed by them. He died in 1639, and as a mark of respect, his widow and his eldest son (Samuel) were allowed them for their lives the stipend enjoyed by the father, namely £100 annually.

The Rev. Nathaniel Smart, followed Mr. Ward.

In 1643, 11th August, Mr. Matthew Lawrence* was appointed Town Preacher, at a stipend of £100, a house provided, and a gratuity of £20 given to assist him in furnishing his domicile. The congregation decreased under Mr. Lawrence. In 1647, his stipend was enlarged to £120 per annum, from which fact it may be understood that the Corporation, at least, regarded his public labours as satisfactory, however strongly the public might have felt to the contrary. Mr. Lawrence died in 1653, and on the east wall of the chancel of St. Mary Tower, is a monument to his memory.

* The Use and Practice of Faith, &c. Delivered in the publick lectures at Ipswich. By the late eminent and faithful servant of his Lord, Mr. Matthew Lawrence, Preacher to the said town. London: Printed by A. Maxey, for William Weekley, Bookseller at Ipswich, &c. 1657.

In 1651, the Rev. Stephen Marshall was appointed.

In 1655, the Rev. Matthew Newcombe succeeded Mr. Marshall.

In 1656, on the 8th September, the Rev. Benjamin Bruninge was appointed.

At what period Mr. Bruninge resigned the preachership, is not clearly known. He died in the month of November, 1688. It seems however that five or six years after his appointment, the Corporation made divers regulations relative to the payment of the minister of the Tower Church. For instance, in 1662, the minister of that parish was to be allowed twenty marks yearly for reading prayers at all times when requested by the Bailiff or Common Council of the town, and for the use of the church and pulpit for the town minister or others to preach therein "as had been accustomed."

In 1663, the Rev. Messrs. Burroughes, Roberts, and Golty, three of the town clergy, were retained to preach the Lecture, and at other times required by the Bailiffs to take their turns and to have £40 each during the pleasure of the town.

In 1671, the Rev. Samuel Golty was appointed. His duties were to preach in the morning except on the days of sacrament, and then in the afternoon, and to preach on other days when ordered. His stipend was to be that paid to the three clergymen named above, and to enjoy the house of the Lecturer.

In 1684, the Rev. Dr. John Mapletoft was appointed during pleasure.

In 1687, (September, 8th) the Rev. Thomas Alexander was appointed, but he was dismissed shortly after, and the Rev. Richard Kedder, D.D. eventually made bishop of Bath and Wells, elected in his room. The Rev. T. Alexander refusing to give up possession

of the Lecturer's house, Doctor Kedder declined to accept the office of Lecturer.

In 1690, the Rev. Samuel Pecke was appointed.

In 1701, the Rev. W. Burkett was appointed during pleasure. He held the office but a few months, and in the same year (Sept. 29th.) the Rev. Jos. Cutlove, George Raymond, Justine Aylmer, and James Reeve, four of the town ministers, were required to preach in their turn and to be paid fifteen shillings for every sermon or lecture.*

In 1704, the Rev. Alexander Clerk was re-elected to the office by the unanimous consent of the Great Court, at the stipend of £100 per annum, and to have the Lecturer's house.

In 1706, the Rev. Edward Beeston, junr. was chosen, his stipend to be £80 and the use of the house.

In 1707, the Rev. Thomas Bishop was appointed.

In 1709, the Rev. Thomas Wrongford was elected Reader of Prayers on Wednesdays, and on Sundays preacher of the Lecture service in the room of the Rev. Thomas Bishop, resigned.

In 1736, the Rev. William Cornwallis officiated. He was presented with the freedom of the borough, and a stipend of £80 allowed him. This person preached on the 29th of May, 1755, the last sermon delivered from the pulpit in the cloisters of Christ's Hospital. The pulpit was shortly afterwards taken down.†

In 1743, the Rev. Robert English was chosen Reader of Prayers on the Corporation days.

In 1763, (May 10th) the Rev. W. Gee was appointed, with the stipend of fifty guineas per annum.

* Mr. Reeve was minister of St. Nicholas, Mr. Cutlove of St. Mary Tower, and Mr. Aylmer, of St. Helen's.

† Batley's MSS.

In 1768, (September, 29) the Rev. John King, Master of the Grammar School was appointed with the stipend of fifty guineas, to which Felaw's gift of £11 was added.

In 1791, Mr. King resigned, and the office was filled by the Rev. Thomas Hallum.

In 1802, the Rev. Wm. Howarth was appointed, and on the 8th of September, 1808, re-appointed, on being licensed by the bishop to hold the office.

Mr. Howarth held the office until after the passing of the Municipal Act, when the Corporation Lectureship was abolished by the Town Council—the Rev. gentleman receiving a commuted pension for his life.

By a reference to the books of the Churchwardens, it would seem that some of the Town Lecturers, or Preachers, were also the incumbent ministers of the church. Indeed considerable confusion appears to exist relative to the appointment of both. Mr. Samuel Golty, by the list of Town Lecturers, will be found appointed to the office in 1671, and by reference to the books of the parish, Mr. Samuel Golty was elected minister on the 14th August, 1677, and £40 : 16 : 0 was subscribed by the parish to pay his stipend.

The Books of the Churchwardens place us in possession of many minute particulars connected with the church, and among others, the custom followed in the election of a minister. On the death of the minister of St. Mary Tower, notice was given of the event after service—in the case of Mr. Cutlove after evening service — and an election of his successor took place on the following day. On that day the bell was tolled, and at "eight o'clock" the parties intending to vote assembled in the vestry, and gave their votes "according to the custome and auncient usage." The

election was decided "by a majority, or the greatest part and chiefest of the inhabitants." The "wages" of the minister came from contribution, free subscription, or rate upon the parishioners, "and not one penny arose from tithe, or any other rectorial or vicarial demand." This exemplification of the custom of election was decided as the true proceeding upon the election of Mr. Bishop, upon whose appointment it being contended the patronage was with the crown, the parish books, accounts, and other documents were examined, and proved both the form and the power of election were with the parishioners.

A few memoranda will complete our memorials of this church.

It has been mentioned that the spire was blown down by a storm which happened on the 18th of February, 1661. In its fall, it took the direction of the south side, and struck the porch, the roof of which was broken through. Several of the grave stones in the churchyard were also broken by the fall of the spire, and the iron-work, or vane, penetrated deeply into the ground. This event appears to have given the parishioners considerable uneasiness, for not only was the fabric much injured, but the expense entailed on the parish was likely to reach a considerable amount. Three days after the fall of the spire, February 21, 1661, the inhabitants of the parish were summoned together, when it was agreed "that the church now decayed should be forthwith repaired by the Churchwardens, and the charge borne by the parish. And also, every thing requisite for the reparation and preservation of the portion of the spire still standing, should be done." For these purposes a rate of two shillings and sixpence was ordered to be collected, but little or nothing appears to have been

effected, either towards repairing the building or re-erecting the fallen spire. To complete the latter work, the greatest anxiety was felt, but though many attempts were made, and even a small estate at Bentley left by Mr. W. Edgar in 1716, towards this object, or for the erection of a new spire, the work was never accomplished, and the church is still without one.

St. Mary Tower no doubt contained many more monumental brasses than at present, and the Churchwardens' books under the date 1686, prove this fact. In that year, among the church goods transferred from the old to the new officers, were five large gravestones and twelve pieces of brass, belonging to these stones, weighing ten pounds fifteen ounces. Perhaps these memorials of the dead had been removed from their places at the appearance of Dowsing, and afterwards restored, as against this entry, in a contemporary hand, is the following memorandum :— "These stones and brasses are laid in the church and chancel."

By referring to an earlier date, entries are found connected with the construction of two dials over the porch. The first account is in 1625. In that year, John Houghton was paid thirty shillings for drawing out and painting a dial upon the south porch. "William Durrant, one shilling and three pence for stageing for the setting up of the dial, and John Badiston five shillings and ten pence for the cocke and other iron about the dial."

On the 28th of February, 1655, it was ordered that the sun dial should be made over the porch at the charge of the parish, "in a beautiful and substantial manner."

The church of St. Mary Tower contains many mural monuments and sepulchral slabs. Here lies

Samuel Ward, of whom mention has been made. On the east wall of the chancel is a tablet to Matthew Lawrence, also an author, and of whom honourable notice has been given. The brasses have been already enumerated at page 343. The following is an acrostic inscription to William Smart, who died September, 23, 1599, mentioned at page 347. An illustration of this tablet is given.

W hat can a deade man feede and cloth and holy precepts giue ?
I t can not be tush tell not me I know he still dooth liue.
L iue then sweete Soule in ample rest example to the rest,
L ike thine his ground must low be laid that high wil build his nest.
I f none think now on thank : if out of sight be out of minde :
A lthough tis wrong : yit light's thy los, that heuenly thank dost finde.
M ay neuer yet faire Ipswich nye be foully so unkinde.

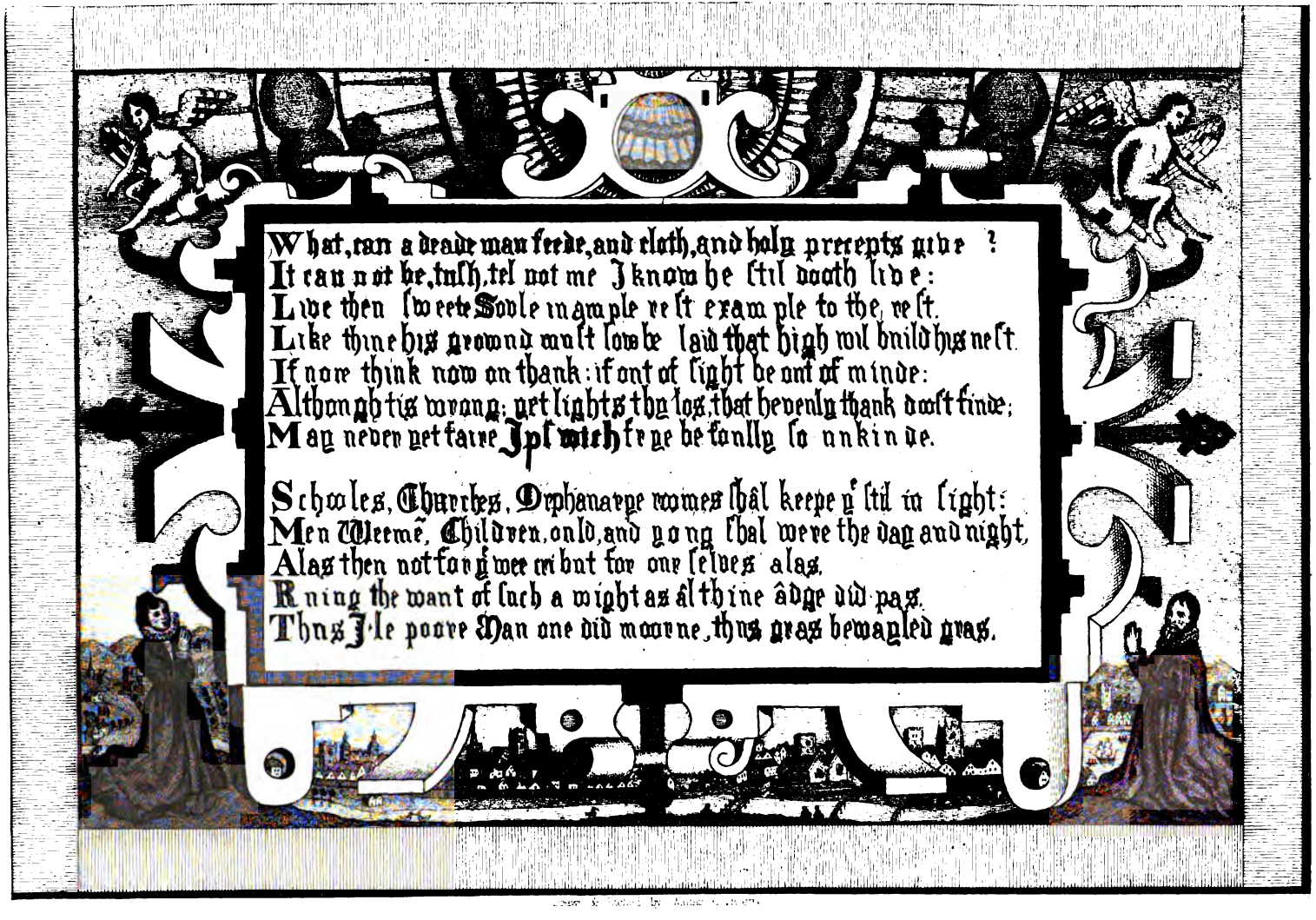
S chooles, Churches, Orphanarye roomes shal keepe ye stil in sight,
M en, Weem'n, Children, ould and yung, shal wail the day and night.
A las then not for ye wee cri but for our selues alas,
R uing the want of such a wight as al thine age did pas.
T hus I le poore Man one did moorne, thus gras bewayled gras.

St. Mary Tower is a Perpetual Curacy, and in the gift of the parishioners. In the return of 1831, the annual value is stated to be £103 per annum.

The list of persons holding the preferment is imperfect, and the following are all the names appearing in the Registers of the Diocese :—

	Patron.
1604, Thomas Webb	——
1617, John Ward	——
1627, John Skinner	——
1685, Joseph Cutlove.....	The king

This is the period when the power of presentation was said to have been vested in the crown. On reference to the Churchwardens' books however, it appears that Mr. Cutlove was appointed by the parishioners.


What, can a deade man feede, and cloth, and holy precepts giue ?
It can not be, mish, tel not me I know he stil doth liue:
Liue then sweete Soule in mayde rest example to the, rest.
Like thine his grownd must lowe be laid that high wil build his nest.
If now think now on thank: if ont of sight be ont of minde:
Although tis wrong: yet lights thy loss, that heuenly thank dost finde;
May neuer yet faire Ipswich freye be fondly so vnkinde.
Schooles, Churches, Orphanarye womes shal keepe ẏ stil in light:
Men Weemẽ, Children, old, and yong shal weye the day and night,
Alas then not for ẏ wee mi but for our selues alas.
Ruing the want of such a wight as al thine âdge did pas.
Thus I·le poore Man one did mourne, thus grass bewayled grass.

		Patrons.
1740,	Thomas Bishop.....	——
1779,	Thomas Cobbold	The Parishioners
1806,	W. Howarth, Lecturer...	The Corporation*
1831,	Francis Cobbold	The Parishioners
1838,	Wm. Nassau Leger	Ditto

With the exception of St. Mary Tower and St. Lawrence, the churches of Ipswich possess but few historical details. The Daundy chauntry founded in St. Lawrence rendered that church one of interest, and frequent resort to the inhabitants. Beyond these two churches, however, but few interesting matters connected with the ecclesiastical buildings are to be found.†

St. Stephen's, situate between Upper Brook Street and St. Stephen's Lane, is a Rectory, valued in 1831 at £82. This original building was of early erection, St. Stephen's being one of the Ipswich churches mentioned in the Norman Domesday.

But few historical particulars are known relative to this church.

In 1369, John de Sutton and his wife granted the advowson to Roger de Wolverstone and others.

In the 7th year of Edward IV, the Corporation granted a parcel of the common soil on the west of the churchyard to the church, in consideration that a red rose was yearly rendered if demanded.

In the 2nd Richard III, the advowson was acknowledged by Sir Gilbert de Debenham to Benedict Caldwell.

* So entered in the Register.

† In a previous page it is stated, that a more copious reference would be made to the monumental inscriptions to be found in the churches of this town. These memorials, however, have been found to be so numerous, as to preclude the possibility of giving a list within moderate limits.

In 1500, John Boyden left a newly-written Mass Book to the church.

In 1508, John —— bequeathed £4 for the making of a silver censer for the church.

The church goods of St. Stephen's at the visit of the Commissioners were few and meagre. They are returned as follows—Xpofer Bynner and William Neve being Churchwardens:—

Item one peyer of challys of sylver waying .....xij oz.
„ bells in the stepyle iij
„ the church and chancele leded.
Sold by Xpofer Bynner certain copes and vestments, &c. for ..... iiij$^{li.}$
Sold to William Neve a vestment for ..... x$^{s.}$

The present building possesses no architectural features worthy description, and has been enlarged within a few years. The church has no ancient books.

The floor shews several reaved brasses.

The list of incumbents is very full.

		Patrons.
1324,	John Berthey	John Filliol
1341,	Rob. Chauntbieu de Brilham	Andrew de Breres
1354,	John Dey de Blakenham ...	Ditto
1399,	Ric. Norys	Roger Cavendish
1403,	John Beney.....	Ditto
1405,	Tho. Helbraid.....	John Cavendish
1408,	John Talyour	Geo. Felbrigg, knt.
1409,	Hugo Bernard	Rog. Cavendish
1412,	Baldwin Cretyng	John Cavendish
1417,	John Fisher	Ditto
1421,	Rob. Rendlesham	Ditto
1427,	Ric. Courteby.....	Ditto
1442,	John Bromley	Tho. Cavendish
1478,	Henr. Barnard.....	The Bishop by lapse
1480,	John Colchester	Ditto
1487,	Hugo Newton.....	Gilb. Debenham, knt.*

* Gilbert Debenham, armiger, had the church as patron 1481. *Cole's Escheats.*

		Patrons.
1507,	Tho. Paccarde.....	Gilb. Debenham, knt.
1527,	Geo. Jekson	John Brewse, esq.
1528,	Rob. Godmards	Ditto
	Rob. Bayard	Ditto
1537,	Tho. Bawde	Ditto
1581,	Chr. Brook	Ditto
1582,	John Dalton	The Bishop by lapse
	Tho. Townes	Ditto
1584,	Tho. Rutland	John Brewse, knt.
1587,	Rob. Richmant	Ægidius Brewse de Wenham
1595,	Simon Sutton, (Curate and Sequestrator)	
1609,	Griffen Warner	The King by lapse
1626,	Jos. Downing	Will. Withepoll
1631,	Will. Hubberd	The same
1684,	Will. Isaacson.....	Edw. Visct. Hereford
1689,	John Denton	Ditto
1731,	Tho. Bolton	Ditto
1772,	William Gee	Tho. Fonnereau, esq.
1815,	Edwd. Griffen.....	Wm. Marsh, clk.
1833,	Isaac Kitchen.....	Ditto
1838,	Edwd. Harston	Wm. Burgess, clk.
1845,	Chas. Holland.....	Ditto

St. Matthew is a Rectory in the gift of the Crown, the value of which was unreturned in 1831 by the then incumbent. Features of the Decorated period are to be found in the structure, but to no great extent. As previously stated, until a few years St. Matthew's possessed a good open roof, the hammer beams carrying angels with shields bearing the emblems of the Passion of our Saviour, and several curious heads were carved as bosses on the roof of the south side of the church. These disappeared at the modern restoration of the building. That the church was in ancient times filled with ornaments of a superior character is certain, much good carved work

being worked into the reredos of the present altar, and the fragments of a painted rood-screen remain in the vestry, displaying several male and female figures engaged in devotion, and also the full lengths of three mitred ecclesiastics.

In 1464, Marian Lovell was buried in the church, and left to the Guild of St. George there 3*s.* 4*d.* and towards painting the figure of Our Lady of Pity 12*d.*

In 1561, Beatrice Went, who appears to have left a large sum to the various religious edifices of the town, bequeaths "a great kettle, a spit and dripping-pan," (!) to the Guild of St. Erasmus, of which she was one of the sisters.

In the same year, William Waad (or Ward) left money to "have an image of the vytte (Passion) of our Lord made * * * and painted and sett up at the east end of the church where his body shall be."

In the same year, Matilda Smyth left to Margaret Owtyng, the wife of Nicholas Owtyng, her little tenement, so that she kept dirige and mass, and meat and drink in St. Matthew's church.

The church plate in the time of Edward VI, does not appear to have been of value, though many bequests were made to the church for the purpose of increasing it. The returns of the Visitors of this period give the following items:—

John Rewarde and William Goodchylde, Churchwardens.

Imprimis, a peyer of challys of sylver and pcll gylte with a patyn waying..... xij oz. & di.

Item. one crysmatory of silver waying ... xiij oz. iij qrs.

Item. iiij knobbes of sylver waying ..... i oz. iij qrs.

Item, one vestment of redde tynsell velvett with a crosse of golde on the back. (A few other vestments are mentioned, but none worth notice.)

Item, bells in the stepyle iiij.

Item, one sanctus bell.

Leyd out by the seyd Churchwardens at the assent of the hole py'sse in the reparacion don in and uppon the seyd churche, in the ij, iij, iiij, and v yeres of the reygne of our seyd Sov'ayne lorde, in glasing of the churche wyndowes decayed and broken at the greate tempaste of hayle and in other expenses, &c. ..... vj$^{li.}$

The names of the Incumbents are found in the Institution Books of the diocese from the early period of 1309.

		Patrons.
1309,	Tho. de Haliswell	The King
1327,	John le Tanner	Ditto
1342,	Rob. Atte Bourne	Ditto
1344,	Oliv. de Druelda.....	Ditto
1344,	John de Bellerby.....	Ditto
1345,	Will. Dele	Ditto
1350,	Rog. Hamond de Charsfield	Ditto
1358,	Simon Colyn	Ditto
1358,	Stephen Atte Crouch	The Bishop by lapse
	Sim. de Cranewis	The King
1372,	Will. Kirkeby	Ditto
1373,	Barth. Benet	Ditto
1378,	Hugo de Carlesthorp	Ditto
1380,	John Baldewyn	Ditto
1381,	John Elmede	Ditto
1383,	Tho. Mane	Ditto
1404,	Ric. Crese	Ditto
1405,	Henr. Bunne	The Bishop by lapse
1407,	Tho. Caule	The King
1429,	Will. Gosselyn.....	Ditto
1473,	Rob. Bothe	Ditto
1476,	Edw. Ashton	Ditto
1510,	John Bayly	———
	Rad. Thornton	———
	Tho. Foster, Curate	———
1614,	Tho. Foster.....	Ditto
1638,	Gagwinus Nash	Ditto
	Wm. Knight	———
1695,	Sam. Peck	Ditto

	Patrons.
1697, John Turner	The King
1744, Andrew Layton	Ditto
1772, John King	Ditto
1775, Wm. Layton	Ditto
1831, Rob. Jervis Coke Alderson	Ditto
1843, Geo. Peloquin G. Cosserat	The Queen
1848, Chas. H. Gaye	Ditto

In St. Matthew's is a finely carved font of stone. Its form is octagon, the compartments occupied by the following designs:—Annunciation—The birth of our Saviour, with Wise Men presenting offerings—Baptism by John — Rose — Foliage — Two figures crowned surrounded by rays—Three figures crowned, the centre with hands clasped, the right-hand figure bearing a globe in one hand, the hands of both outside figures stretched towards the centre figure—A kneeling figure in an oriole, an angel on each side. Some doubt exists upon one or two of these designs, but this elucidation is believed to be correct. The plinth is supported by beasts, between each, a figure in a niche. This font occupied for many years an almost hidden position, and the designs were blocked up by mortar and masonry. The carving has been cleaned and the figures retouched by the chisel.

In the chancel are two good mural monuments—one to Anthonie Penning, who died January 11th, 1630, aged 65, and the other to Richard Cock, Portman, son of Robert Cock, who died June 7th, 1629, aged 60. Anthonie Penning and his wife are in a kneeling posture, and beneath them are the effigies of nine sons kneeling, with three denoting by the dress that they died in infancy; and four daughters kneeling, two of them holding skulls, indicative of decease.

As this is a remarkable monument, the inscription is subjoined.

Here lieth the Body of Anthonie Penning, Esq. Sonne of Arther Penning of Kettleburge, in the county of Suffolke, Esq. who had issue by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Thomas Crofte, of Saxham, in the said County, Esq. 14 sonnes* and 4 daughters. He departed this life the 11th daie of January ano d'm 1630, being of the age of 65 years.

His fayth by love he did express,
His love by workes he did approve.
The poore man's loynes did him blesse,
The rich and poore did him love.

Richard Cock and his wife also kneel. Below them are eight youthful figures, three males and five females.

The figures on both monuments are painted, and are excellent studies of the costume of a period which though comparatively near our own time, possessed many peculiarities in detail.

ST. MARY AT THE ELMS is a Perpetual Curacy, valued in 1831, at £80 only. St. Mary at the Elms is mentioned in Domesday, and a portion of the building is early, the door of the south porch being of the Norman period. The iron-work upon the door itself is of the same character. No brasses exist in the church, and the monuments are few.

The present tower succeeded a belfry built in 1443.

In 1512, Ann Cady bequeathed £12 to this church for the purpose of buying a new cross, "and if it (the legacy) be not sufficient," the rest is to be paid out of her goods. She also leaves to Sir William Ruskin, (doubtless priest at the period) ten marks to pray for her soul.

* The monument shews twelve sons.

About 1513, Thomas Crane, of Ipswich, wills that he be buried before the south door of St. Mary Elms, and leaves eight pence towards the maintenance of the light before Our Lady. His wife is ordered to cause a trental of thirty masses to be sung for his soul at Scala Cœli, in London.

The church plate at the Visitation of the Commissioners appears to have been of no mean value.

Robert Fyske and Steven Broke, Churchwardens.

Item, one crosse of sylver p'cll gylte weying iij.^{xx}v oz.
Item, one pyxe of sylver and all gylte ..... xvj oz. & di.
Item, one peyer of challys of sylver and all gylte xiij oz.
Item, too other challys of sylver p'cl gylte whereof one weyeth..... } x oz. & di.
The other weyeth..... ix oz.
Bells in the stepyll iiij
One sanctus bell
Leyd forthe by the seyd Churchwardens, &c. ... vj^{li}.

The list of Incumbents is short.

		Patrons.
1617,	Thomas Foster	——
1639,	John Bedle	The Bishop
1662,	William Knight	——
1685,	Bartho. Gardeman	The King
*	* * * *	*
1740,	Thomas Bishop	——
1778,	Peter Edge	The Parishioners
1805,	William Aldrich	Ditto

St. Clement's Church is of the Perpendicular style, with a few features of an earlier era. It possesses north and south aisles, a porch on the south side, a clerestory of twelve windows on each side of two lights each, and a lofty tower stands at the west end. The original chancel has been removed. The date of the first church is not known.

St. Clement is the patron of seafaring men, and the emblem of this saint, an anchor, is repeated several times within the building,—among other places the east window contains a medallion on painted glass of this design.

On the chancel floor is a brass to John Tye, merchant, and his two wives. The male figure is habited in his Portman's (a furred) gown. Above the figures are the arms of the town on two shields, one supported by sea-horses, and the other not. On the left is a shield, with the date 1583. Beneath are fourteen children.

The epitaph sets forth that John Tye died on the 13th of July, 1583, and by the register of burials it appears he was buried two days only after his decease.

A portion of a brass also remains to the memory of William Cocke, who died December 26, 1607, and his wife Joane. The female figure has been reaved from the stone.

Other brasses formerly existed in the church, but have been destroyed. Many mural monuments and floor slabs occupy the building.

In 1469, Guilds of St. Mary and St. Clement are mentioned.

In 1509, John Lynde leaves money to the two processionaries, and £3 : 6 : 8 to Friar Thomas Hare, for half a year's services in singing for the repose of Lynde's soul in the church.

In 1517, 3*s.* 4*d.* is left by John Petman towards making the steple.

The church plate in the reign of Edward VI consisted of the following pieces :—

Item, one peyer of challys of sylver gylte weying xvj oz.
„ two cruetts of sylver p'clle gylte ... . ix oz.
„ one paxe of sylver and gylte weying ..... xj oz.

Item, one censer of sylver weying ..... xxxiiij oz.
„ one shippe wt. a spone of sylver weying xij oz.
Bells in the stepyll iiij

The Churchwardens' accounts commence in 1594.

1594. Item paid the Sexton for a pound of candles uppon corronation daie ..... 8*d.*

1604. June 24, Payde to Joseph Haywarde for makinge of the frame wherein the kinge's armes hanged the summe of 7*s.*

Payde to Rubyne Joyce for drawinge of the kinge's armes,..... £1 : 6 : 4

1635. Payd for a silver pattine for the bread at the celebration of the sacrament ..... £4 : 9 : 10

Payde the paynter for whitinge, stayninge, gildinge, and wrightinge in the church..... £4 : 10 : 0

Payde for an aunchent mendinge one the gune powder treason day. ..... £0 : 4 : 0

1641. Item for wrighting faire of 700 names of them that tooke the protestation to deliver to Mr. Bailies ... £0 : 3 : 4

1643. Payd for an yron and basin to baptise children by the desk syde..... £0 : 6 : 2

St. Clement was consolidated with St. Helen Sep. 22, 1752, and St. Edmund with the latter in 1424.

INCUMBENTS OF ST. CLEMENT.

		PATRONS.
1606.	William Johnson.....	Rob. Brooke & Wm. Bloyse
1612.	Thomas Scott	Will. Bloys, gent.
1638.	Thomas Scott	Ric. Brooke, esq.
1640.	John Ward	John Brandling
1662.	Samuel Golty	Sir Rob. Brooke, bt.
1683.	George Tayler.....	Ditto
1699.	Just. Aylmer	Rob. Brooke, esq.
1729.	John Clubbe	Philip Brooke, esq.
1735.	John Broke	Ditto

ST. EDMUND.

1322.	John de Grangia de Playford	The Bishop
1345.	Ric. le Clare de Lexham	Ditto

		Patrons.
1353.	Nic. Laurence.....	The Bishop
1361.	John May de Multon	Ditto
1367.	Tho. Bird de Claxton.....	Ditto
1367.	John Femmot de Intwood	Ditto
1369.	John de Blakenham	Ditto
1399.	Will. fil. Will. de Colesmore	Ditto
1409.	Will. Tanner	Ditto
	John Lopham	Ditto
1424.	John Walden	Ditto

Consolidated with St. Helen.

	Rob. Markys	———
1464.	Rob. Long	The Bishop
1472.	Fr. Tho. Ayton	Ditto
1477.	Rob. Hilton.....	Ditto
1488.	John Haylok	Ditto
1491.	John Brian	Ditto
1495.	Walt. Qwyntyn	Ditto
1503.	Rob. Helperby	Ditto
	Rob. Bonds.....	Ditto
1527.	Walt. Tyrrell	Ditto
1546.	Simon Clerk	John Butler, esq.
	Will. Swashyn.....	———
1554.	Will. Barker	Greg. Daniel, gent.
1555.	Tho. Pindar	The Bishop by lapse
1556.	Edmund Heeke	Ditto
1556.	Ric. Argentine	Ditto
1568.	Will. Burges	Ditto
1574.	Ump. Graye	Greg. Daniel, gent.
1595.	Rob. Smith	Hump. Harman
1611.	Tho. Carter.....	Will. Cage
	Ric. Ramsford.....	———
1631.	Tho. Cave	Ed. Cotton, esq.
1662.	Cave Beck	The King by lapse
	Justine Aylmer	———
1730.	Rob. Hingeston	P. Hingeston, gent.
1739.	John Frenche	T. Reeve, clk. & ors.
1742.	Wm. Couperthwaite	Ann Docking

ST. HELEN WITH ST. CLEMENT.

		PATRONS.
1753.	Rob. Adkin.....	Tho. Adkin
1770.	George Routh.....	John Green Basely
1821.	John Thos. Nottidge	Henry Sykes Thornton, esq.
1847.	W. W. Woodhouse	R. Nottidge, esq.

DISTRICT CHAPEL.

1837.	Richard Mosley	J. T. Nottidge
1842.	John Wm. Reeve	Ditto
1848.	F. H. Maude	R. Nottidge, esq.

ST. PETER'S is a Perpetual Curacy returned at the value of £138. The church has a fine tower, but its other architectural features are not remarkable. It possesses a square font, the basin of which is sculptured with animals in the Norman style. There is no reason to suppose the upper part to be of less antiquity than this era, the pillar and plinth are however of a later period.

The gifts and legacies to this church appear to have been numerous.

In 1446, Alice Bawde left to the Guild of St. Gregory in St. Peter's twenty pence.

In 1472, we find a Guild of St. John in the church.

In 1506, Nicholas Purchett left 33*s.* 4*d.* to painting and leading the image of Our Lady in the steeple.

In 1503, Agnes Walworth left to the church a cup of silver gilt, and to be prayed for in the Bead Roll for one whole year.

In 1508, William Harecote leaves his body to be buried in St. Peter's churchyard, and money to purchase a cross to be made according to the cross of St. Nicholas in the churchyard, or better "and that to stand over his burial place or grave."

In 1509, William Plesyngton of Ipswich ordered his body to be buried in St. Peter's churchyard, before

the image of Our Lady, and his will furnishes a curious specimen of the testamentary bequests of the period.

He leaves to the church two processionaries, &c.

Thirty masses to be sung in the church for his soul and the soul of Emma his wife.

He bequeaths a sheet for covering the high altar, and a barrel of beer, with bread, to be given in the church at his expense to the poor of the parish.

His books in the press are to be sold to the best advantage.

He bequeaths two silver clasps and two silver pins to the best mass book in St. Peter's, "for as long as they will endure;" and concludes with declaring his wish to be that Sir Jeffry (a priest) should be the supervisor of his will, and to have for his labour 20*d.* and a "payer of pabylls with gold waytes and a boke of commemoration."

"Sir Jeffry" is again mentioned in a will dated April 27, 1510, where a devisor deputes this priest "his ghostly father," to sing a trental of thirty masses for his soul in the church of St. Peter. Five shillings were paid for the trental.

John Heyneys of Ipswich, on the 19th May, 1495, bequeaths to the Guild of St. Peter 3*s.* 4*d.* and to the reparation of the holy cross in the house of St. Peter (probably the priory) "when it is amended and newly repaired 6*s.* 8*d.*"

In 1526, John Keve, another pious person, after leaving 20*d.* to the high altar of St. Peter, leaves the residue of his goods after the payment of his debts towards certain pilgrimages that he promised in his life-time to Our Lady of Grace, Our Lady of Walsingham, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and to St. Cornelius of London.

Elizabeth Watson, March 1st, 1525, orders her executors to sell her six silver spoons and with the money give towards a silver chrismatory for the same church.

These many bequests do not appear to have enriched the church, for in the Visitors' return the plate found was only one pair of chalices parcel gilt without a paten, and weighing but viij oz.

In 1576, large reparations of the church appear to have taken place, and in 1593, according to the church books, the chancel was entirely rebuilt.

The list of Curates is imperfect.

		Patrons.
1604.	Tho. Crosman.....	———
1617.	Jeremiah Catelyn	———
1636.	Nic. Beard	———
1764.	John Smyth.....	Tho. Fonnereau, esq.
1770.	Tho. Clarke.....	Ditto
1793.	Cha. Wm. Fonnereau.....	Wm. Fonnereau, clk.
1801.	Edw. Griffin.....	Ditto
1833.	Robert Whytehead...	Rev. Cha. Simeon
1837.	Henry Thomas Lumsden	The Ven. Geo. Hodson, Arch. of Staff.

St. Mary at Key is a church of considerable antiquity, though not mentioned in Domesday. Kirby, in his Suffolk Traveller, says that the present structure was erected since the year 1448, Richard Gowty having given "Calyon stone for the whole church." For whatever purpose the gift of this benefactor was required, it is evident that it could not have been for the erection of the "whole" church, as the greater portion of the building is flint-work, and the tower is in parts a beautiful example both of the beauty and duration of this material when applied to purposes of this nature.

St. Mary Key was appropriated to the Priory of

St. Peter and Paul, and its advowson was given to the college of Cardinal Wolsey when the Priory was dissolved to form a portion of its possessions. On passing into the hands of the Cardinal, Sir Robert Basse was instituted to the living, as shewn by the following fragment of a document among the papers belonging to this College in the Chapter House, Westminster.

"* * * day of September, in the twenty year of the reign of our Sovereign Lorde King Henry * * * * * * deane of the College of our Blessed Lady, &c. on the one part, and Sir Robert Basse, chapleyne, on the other. The Deane, William Capon, demises and grants that the church shall be taken to ferme by Sir Robert Basse, with all manner of alterage, tythes, oblations, pryve tythes, &c. except the tythes of corn, grain, hay, feeding, pasturage, or justements of bulls, veeles, and lambs, and the tythes of three mills, (all which belonged to the church of St. Peter,) at the rent of 40*s.* per annum, for eight years, such rent to be paid in four proportions, namely, at the Nativity of our Lord God, the Annunciation of our Blessed Lady, at the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and the Fest of Saint Michell the Archangell." Sir Robert Basse is bound on the other part to administer all sacraments in the church, to pay proper wages, and not to alienate his rights to any person except such whom the Dean and Fellows of the College shall approve.

St. Mary Key is a Perpetual Curacy value £103.

The building has a fine open roof,* and contains several brasses, one of them being the well-known Pounder Brass.† An altar tomb to Henry Tooley (1551) also occupies the east end of the north aisle.

The church plate at the period of the general Visitation of churches in the reign of Edward VI,

* Described in page 336. † See page 341.

seems to have been pledged to the same Henry Tooley.

Richard Byrde, gent. and John Cowes, gent. Churchwardens.

Imp'ms, one payer of censers of silver p'cll gylte whiche were bye many yeers paste layde to Henry Toley, marchaunte nowe decessed, for the some of..... vj$^{li.}$ xiii$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$

Item, ij copes of clothe of golde, &c.

It appears that a cross of silver gilt, a pair of chalices gilt, three other pair of chalices of silver gilt, a pax of silver gilt, and a chrysmatory, were sold by the Churchwardens for a debt due for "byldyng of ther churche and for ledyng, plastering, and pavyng the same."

The list of Incumbents has been lost. Those appearing in the Institution Books are—

		Patrons.
1617,	Henry White	———
1620,	John Allen	———
1681,	Samuel Aldus	———
1697,	Stephen Newcomen	———
1699,	James Reeve	———
1710,	Richard Ward	———
1764,	Thomas Bolton	The Parishioners
1822,	Samuel Carr	Ditto
1830,	William Harbur.....	Ditto

St. Margaret's is a Perpetual Curacy, the value of which in 1831 was £115.

This church was appropriated to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, which stood in the grounds known as Christ Church park. But although in close neighbourhood of this monastical establishment, it had no closer connection with the Priory than the impropriation, another ecclesiastical building dedicated to the Holy Trinity being attached to the Priory. Trinity

church is mentioned in Domesday Book, but St. Margarett's is not.

The present church is chiefly of the Perpendicular period, with aisles, a fine clere story, two porches, and a tower at the west end. The roof, of open character, is described elsewhere in this volume,* but it may here be mentioned, that about half a century since, the outward thrust of the timbers endangering the stability of the walls, a blacksmith resident in the parish undertook to remedy the evil, and by piercing the lower timbers with rods of iron, the ends of which were formed as screws, contrived by the application of great power to bring the roof back to its former perfect position. At that time some of the painting on the panelling was executed.

No perfect brasses remain in this church, but a reived slab on which has been the representation of a priest, lies on the floor. The chalice with the wafer, appears above his head, and labels at each corner. Most probably this stone was intended to mark the last resting place of one of the monks of Trinity Priory.

On the floor of the north aisle, near the west end, lies a mutilated stone upon which appear the remains of an ancient inscription in Latin. The letters are too much mutilated to afford any certainty of the words. A stone coffin lid has also been found, which bore a cross.

The font is octagonal, bearing shields and angels. The faces of the figures are much mutilated. This font was restored in 1843.

At the west end of the church, now filled by an organ, is a gallery with a stone front of gothic character. Both were erected in 1844. Previously, the

* See page 335.

belfry arch held a smaller gallery of wood, which with the door beneath serving as an entrance to the base of the tower, were ornamented with carved wood-work brought from Brightwell Hall, the seat of the Barnardistons, and displayed their crest. This is now removed. Small portions of carved work also ornamented some of the pews of this church. A portion of the rood screen stood in front of the organ, and another portion lay under a pew at the chancel end, but was destroyed when the church was supplied with open benches.

Many years since, when the old colour on the walls was removed, many ancient texts were discovered, as also the painting of St. Christopher.

At the period of the modern restoration of the building, the large east window, as well as others, were decorated with stained glass, at the cost of W. Fonnereau, Esq. the parishioners, &c.

In 1447, Robert Thurmod left 20*d.* to the Guild of St. Catherine in this church, and to the image of John the Baptist, one pound of wax.

In 1450, William Silvester left 20*s.* to the making of the new candlebeam, and the same sum towards the making of the new porch.

In 1453, Robert Cady left 3*s.* 4*d.* to the high altar and 6*s.* 8*d.* towards making the tabernacle. He also ordered that his executors should have on the day of his funeral thirty priests to sing thirty masses for his soul.*

In 1467, Margarett Sylvester left 3*s.* 4*d.* to the Guild of St. Mary in this church, and the same sum to the Guild of St. Catherine, with two silver candlesticks, value ten marks.

* An item in the will of this person may perhaps fix the date of the present structure of St. Helen's, as he leaves 3*s.* 4*d.* towards the building of St. Helen, "in the suburbs of Ipswich."

In 1479, Thomas Medsue left 20*s.* towards making a crucifix.

In 1512, William Roskyn leaves his body to be buried in the Chapel of our Lady in St. Margarett's church, and orders Sir W. Roskyn, his son, to sing in the same church for three years for his soul and the souls of his friends, having for his wages ten marks yearly.

The church goods of St. Margarett were not valuable, nor so mean, as in some churches.

John Brend and Richarde Battell, Churchwardens.

Imp'ms, ij peyer of challys all gylte wherof one wayeth xix$^{oz.}$ and di and quart.
The other wayeth..... xvj$^{oz.}$ and di and di qrtr.
Item, one crysmetorye of sylver p'cll gylte waying ... xvij$^{oz.}$
Item, one pixe of sylver and gylte..... ix$^{oz.}$

The church goods with one of the bells were sold and brought £5 : 6 : 8 to the parish, and the Churchwardens certify that they laid out £10 in paving, leading, and glazing the windows of the church which had been greatly injured with a tempest of hail.

The chief sepulchral memorials are—a large slab now raised against the wall at the east end of the north aisle for Sir Edmund Withypoll, obit 1574, which formerly formed the upper portion of an altar tomb—and a tablet with a rich emblazonment to John Lany and his wife.

The list of Incumbents is short—

		Patrons.
1604,	Tho. Carter, Licensed Curate	
1627,	John Beales	
1633,	Will. Geast	
1662,	Cave Beck	
1764,	William Cornwallis	Tho. Fonnereau, esq.
1786,	Charles Cornwallis	Wm. Fonnereau, clk.

		Patrons.
1804,	Claudius Wm. Fonnereau	Wm. Fonnereau, clk.
1805,	Charles Wm. Fonnereau	Ditto
1840,	George Murray	The Ven. Geo. Hodson, Archd. of Stafford.

St. Nicholas is a Perpetual Curacy, in the gift of the parishioners, valued in 1831 at £150. Although not mentioned in Domesday, the original foundation is of very early origin, and the interesting effigies and other remains found in 1848, described in a former portion of this volume,* would lead to the supposition —if these figures belonged to the structure, and of which there is little or no doubt—that the church existed in the Saxon times.

Beyond, however, the memorials now mentioned, with the Dedication stone to the destroyed chapel of All Saints, and the stone exhibiting the relievo of St. Michael fighting with the dragon, both of which are here preserved, but neither belonging to the structure, there is little to interest the antiquary. There are four brasses in the church,† three of which bear effigies, and one is a label only.

The will books do not contain many bequests to St. Nicholas.

In 1445, Elizabeth Roberts left 20*d.* towards making the candlebeam.

John Blosse in 1448, left the same amount for the support of the light.‡

In 1460, Matilda Ferris left a bequest to the sustentation of the light before the image of Our Lady of Pity for a year and a half after her decease. She also bequeathed 10*s.* to the reparation of the torche in the same church.

* See page 332-3. † See page 344.

‡ This person left 3*s.* 4*d.* to the reparation of the church of St. George.

In 1470, Thomas Ladbroke left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the torches.

In 1473, William Style directed his body to be buried in this church before the image of St. Saviour, "if the parishioners will allow it," and half a fodder of lead for the amending and leading of the roof of the building.

In 1476, Nicholas Bramston desires to be buried before the same image, and if his wife after his decease can be buried in the same grave, he leaves 40*s.* to the reparation and leading of the south aisle.

In 1509, Margaret Gardener leaves her best sheet for an altar cloth, and a cloth to hang before the Sepulchre there.

By the will of Beatrice Went in 1516, we are made acquainted with the fact that many lights existed in the church, probably lighted only on the day of the Saint to whom they related. This pious lady left:—

To Our Lady's Light in St. Nicholas, 4*d.*

To St. Nicholas light in the same church, 4*d.*

To the light of Our Lady of Pity, 4*d.*

To the rood light, 4*d.*

To the light of the Five Wounds of our Lord, 4*d.*

To the light of St. Sunday, 2*d.*

To the light of St. Saviour, 2*d.*

To the light of St. Erasmus, 2*d.*

To the light of St. Christopher, 2*d.*

A fine sheet to make an altar cloth for the high altar.

Also a diaper cloth with tassels at the end.

To the same church a pounced basin with an ewer of laten and a cushion embroidered with gold to the honour of God.

The only articles of plate and valuables at the time of Edward VIth's visitation, were "one peyer of

challys of sylver with a patin weying xxi ounces, and a few vestments."

The following names are found in the Institution Books.

		Patrons.
1604.	S. Wrenche	———
1617.	Mark Smarte	———
1635.	William Kerrington.....	———
——	William Reeve.....	———
1755.	Robert Hudson	The Parishioners
1785.	James Coyte.....	Ditto
1812.	Mileson Geary Edgar.....	Ditto

St. Mary Stoke is a Rectory in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, and was worth £337 in 1831. The building is small, and with the exception of the roof is not remarkable. The church is situated on high ground, and from the summit of the tower a fine view of the town, the woods of Sproughton, and the course of the river Orwell is seen.

In 1463, John Pypho, a fuller, left 3*s.* 4*d.* towards the painting of the sepulchre in this church.

In 1487, William Cady left a chalice of silver worth 53*s.* 4*d.*

In 1510, Thomas Porter, of Stoke, left three ewes and three lambs to the high altar, and after detailing a bequest to the Grey Friars, leaves all his goods to the church of Stoke to be disposed of to the pleasure of God, and appoints Sir Simon Tyrington, parson of Stoke, his executor.

The list of Incumbents is full—

		Patrons.
1300,	John de Godele	Prior & Convt of Ely
1304,	Galf de Frasyngfield ...	Ditto
1308,	Elyas de Whetele.....	Ditto
1309,	Nic. de Sutton	Ditto
1322,	Tho. de Ayshele	——

		Patrons.
1338,	Rob. de Edenestowe.....	Prior & Convt of Ely
	Will. Brown	——
1366,	John de Shernyng	Ditto
1384,	John Wodehull.....	Ditto
1405,	Will. Fraunceys	Ditto
1408,	Will. Bekyngton	Ditto
	Will. Sekyngton	——
1427,	Rob. Rendelesham	Ditto
1464,	Rob. Markys.....	Ditto
1475,	Tho. Frost	Ditto
1510,	Sim. Tyrington	Ditto
1530,	Joes. Garyn	Ditto
1557,	Will. Leche	Dean & Chapter of Ely
1559,	Rob. Glasyer	Ditto
1607,	Phil. Swan	Ditto
1607,	Moses Wood.....	Anna Garth, wid.
1626,	Gilb. Rayney	John Acton, gent.
1662,	Will. Isaacson	Dean & Chapter of Ely
1689,	Nath. Holder.....	Ditto
	Thomas Herring	——
1749,	George Jubb.....	Ditto
1751,	Cuthbert Douthwaite ...	The Archbp. of Cant. by lapse
1782,	Bailey Wallis	Dean & Chapter of Ely
1820,	Stephen Croft	Ditto

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